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ANCIENT MID-INDIAN KṢATRIYA TRIBES, VOL. I.

BY

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FOREWORD

During the last quarter of a century there has been a marked change in the attitude of many scholars towards the traditions of early Indian history, especially those conveyed in the Epics, the Purāṇas, and the canonical works of the Buddhists and Jains. Instead of brushing them aside with contempt except where they corroborate or seem to corroborate the statements of the 'orthodox' Brahmanic texts such as the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, not a few students have been moved to reconsider the unfavourable verdict passed by their predecessors upon these legends. Foremost among these is Mr. F. E. Pargiter, whose *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* sums up and completes the researches carried on by him through many years of patient critical labour. He has demonstrated that underneath the mass of legend there lies a fairly coherent skeleton of historical tradition, mainly representing the standpoint of the Kṣatriyas of ancient India, and not seldom contradicting the orthodox Brahmanic texts; and this he has endeavoured with great skill to reconstruct. Though perhaps not all of us are prepared to accept in their entirety the conclusions which he has deduced, none can fail to recognise the profound and far-reaching effect of his criticism in general. No doubt the ancient legend-mongers were often as unreliable as their modern successors, who are ready to concoct an utterly false pedigree for any parvenu person or tribe who will pay for it; no doubt too when they were honest they were often lamentably wrong, placing contemporary dynasties one after the other, and filling up gaps with wild speculation. But after due deduction of an abundant margin for error the skeleton of an old tradition still remains; and it is no longer permissible for historians to ignore it. They must collect and to the best of their

ability analyse legends, endeavouring to trace them to their sources, whether Brāhman or Kṣatriya, to test their credibility, and accordingly to classify them and group them organically together. And this criticism will be powerfully aided by archæological research in India and neighbouring countries.

One of the main foci of Kṣatriya traditions is the Bhārata War, which with Mr. Pargiter and Dr. Law I regard as an historical event, though much obscured by fable. In connection with it I would venture to point to a fact which hitherto, I believe, has not received the attention that it merits, namely the corroboration supplied by Jain legend. As is well known, the Jain Tīrthaṃkara Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna was preceded by the Tīrthaṃkara Pārśvanātha, whose predecessor again was Ariṣṭanemi, whom Jain traditions represent as a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa (Kaṇha) Vāsudeva. If we may assume an interval of about two hundred years between each of these Tīrthaṃkaras, as seems on general grounds most suitable, we bring Ariṣṭanemi's date up to about 1000 B.C., which very nearly corresponds with the date assigned on other grounds by Mr. Pargiter to the Bhārata War, in which according to tradition Kṛṣṇa took part, namely 950 B.C.

Dr. Law's work will therefore be welcome. He has spared no efforts to make an exhaustive and careful collection of the materials that Indian tradition offers, together with many relevant data from other sources that will aid in the construction of a critical history. By his earnest and energetic *purātattvānusandhitasā* he has laid students of history under a considerable obligation.

LONDON, }
September, 1924. }

L. D. BARNETT.

PREFACE

The following pages present for the first time a detailed account, historical and geographical, of some of the ancient Kṣatriya tribes of Mid-India (i.e. the valley of the upper Ganges and its tributaries) e. g. the Kurus, the Pañcālas, the Matsyas, the Śūrasenas, the Cedis, the Vaśas, the Avantis and the Uśīnaras. In preparing this volume, I have consulted original works, Sanskrit and Pāli, and I have derived some help from other sources, literary and archæological, as indicated in the footnotes.

Some of the information contained in the present volume is no doubt mere legend, but in the present state of our knowledge, legends cannot altogether be ignored as they very often contain a substratum of truth. Again, although some of the facts in the history of the Mid-Indian Kṣatriya tribes have been mentioned in the works of scholars like Oldenberg, Cunningham, Macdonell, Keith, Rhys Davids, D. R. Bhandarkar, R. C. Majumdar and H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, yet the first comprehensive account is, I believe, given in the following pages.

I am grateful to Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum not only for his learned foreword but also for a few valuable suggestions which have been of great use to me.

24 SUKEA'S STREET, }
CALCUTTA,
August, 1924. }

BIMALA CHARAN LAW.

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Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, Vol. I.

CHAPTER I

THE KURUS

The Kurus form one of the most ancient and most prominent of the Indo-Aryan Kṣatriya tribes. In the Kurus in the Rgvedic period. R̥gveda, however, they are not very prominently mentioned as a people. In one of the verses of a hymn (R̥gveda X.33.4) occurs the word Kuru-śravaṇa which is interpreted by some scholars as 'the glory of the Kurus' or the 'hearer of the praises of the Kurus.' Wilson (R̥gveda, VI., pp. 88-89) translates this verse as follows :—"(Indra), the possessor of the pitchers, the hearer of the praises of the Kurus, let us celebrate these auspicious adorations of thee, the giver of riches : may he, (Indra), be the donor (of affluence) to you who are opulent, (in pious offering), and (so may) this Soma which I cherish in my heart." The word Kuru-śravaṇa, however, is generally taken by scholars to be the name of a particular king who is supposed to have been given this name in consideration of his having been a ruler of the Kurus. In the hymn next following the one we have quoted above, the charities of the prince Kuru-śravaṇa are praised and there can be no doubt that it is here the name of a particular sovereign. Some of his ancestors are also mentioned in this hymn. Thus it goes on :—"The (divinities, the) appointers of men, have appointed me to Kuruśravaṇa : I have borne Pūṣan on the way : the universal gods are my

protectors..... I, the Ṛṣi, solicit (wealth) of the munificent Prince Kuruśravaṇa, the son of Trasadasyu, for the priests. Whose three horses bear me pleasantly in the chariot; I praise him at the ceremony in which he presents thousands. Upamaśravas, the words of whose father were sweet, like a pleasant field given to a beggar. Come to me, my son, grandson of Mitrātithi; I am the eulogist of thy father. If I were lord over immortals and mortals, then should my munificent (benefactor) live. No one lives a hundred years passing the limit fixed by the gods; so he is separated from his friends.” (Ṛgveda X, 33. 1 and 4-9; Wilson, Ṛgveda Vol. VI, pp. 89-90). Here it is evident that the seer of the Ṛgvedic hymn mourns the loss by death of his generous donor and in the last four verses he evidently consoles his son Upamaśravas and mentions in passing Mitrātithi, the grandfather of Upamaśravas. Upamaśravas was, it seems, the son of Kuruśravaṇa for whose death he is being consoled. But the Bṛhad-devatā says that it was for the death of his grandfather Mitrātithi that he is being consoled in these verses of the Ṛgveda. Thus it says, “The following two (stanzas) adore Kuruśravaṇa Trāsadasyava (X. 33.4, 5). On the death of King Mitrātithi, the seer with the following four (stanzas beginning) ‘Of whom’ (yasya : X.33. 6-9) consoled his (Mitrātithi’s) grandson Upamaśravas ” (Bṛhad-devatā, Macdonell, Part II., p. 260). The Sarvānukramaṇī of Kātyāyana also supports this view of the Bṛhad-devatā.

Besides bearing the significant name Kuruśravaṇa, this prince is also called in the above hymn Trāsadasyava or a descendant of Trasadasyu who is well-known in the Ṛgveda (Ṛgveda IV, 38.1; VII. 19, 3, etc.) as a king of the Pūrus.

Trasadasyu's "people, the Pūrus, were settled on the Sarasvatī, which was, no doubt, the stream in the middle country, that locality according well with the later union of the Pūrus with the Kuru people, who inhabited that country." (Vedic Index, 1, 327). This proves the connection between the Kurus and the Pūrus and "it is a probable conjecture of Oldenberg's (Buddha, 403-404) that the Kuru people, as known later, included some of the tribes referred to by other names in the Ṛgveda.....It is likely that the Trtsu-Bharatas who appear in the Ṛgveda as enemies of the Pūrus, later coalesced with them to form the Kuru people" (Vedic Index, 1, 167). The Vedic Index adds "since the Bharatas appear so prominently in the Brāhmaṇa texts as a great people of the past, while the later literature ignores them in its list of nations, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they became merged in some other tribe. Moreover, there is evidence that the Bharatas occupied the territory in which the Kurus were later found. Two of them are spoken of in a hymn of the Ṛgveda (III. 23) as having kindled fire on the Dr̥ṣadvatī, the Āpayā and the Sarasvatī—that is to say, in the sacred places of the later Kurukṣetra..... nor is it without importance that the Bharatas appear as a variant for the Kuru-Pañcālas in a passage of the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, and that in the list of the great performers of the horse sacrifice the names of one Kuru and two Bharata princes are given without any mention of the people over which they ruled, while in other cases that information is specifically given." (Vedic Index, 1, 167-168).

Professor Keith also urges the same view of the incorporation of the Bharatas with the Kurus in his paper con-

tributed to the Cambridge History of India. The Bharatas who are the heroes of the third and the seventh books of the R̥gveda were replaced by the Kurus and close to the Kurus we find the allied Pañcālas. Dr. Keith entertains little doubt and holds that the Kurus were new comers with whom the Bharatas amalgamated, and the Kurus thus reinforced, included in their numbers the Pūrus. (Cambridge History of India, p. 118).

In the Cambridge History of India, Prof. Rapson also expresses the same view of the merging of the R̥gvedic Bharatas into the Kurus, and refers to the designation, *Kurukṣetra*, of the country occupied by this people produced by the combination of two of the most prominent peoples of ancient India. The Bharatas who were settled in the country of the Sarasvatī in the times of the R̥gveda (III, 23, 4), were merged in the Kurus; and their whole territory, the new together with the old, became famous in history under the name 'Kurukṣetra'—'the field of the Kurus.' This was the scene of the great war of the descendants of Bharata Dauḥshanti, and the centre from which Indo-Aryan culture spread, first throughout Hindusthan, and eventually throughout the whole sub-continent. (Cambridge History of India, p. 47).

Another king Pākasthāman, whose glories as a generous donor are sung in a hymn of the R̥gveda (VIII. 23), is given the designation Kaurayāṇa most probably a patronymic. In the Atharva Veda (XX. 127, 8) a man called Kauravya is described as having enjoyed prosperity under the rule of King Parikṣit. Evidently, therefore, in the early Vedic age, the name Kuru, which afterwards became so famous,

was already applied to a prominent tribe of the Indo-Aryan Kṣatriyas.

It is, however, in the Brāhmaṇa literature that the Kurus acquire the greatest prominence among the Kṣatriya tribes of ancient India. In the Brāhmaṇa literature, the Kurus are often found connected with the Pañcālas and, from the way in which the Kuru-Pañcālas are mentioned, there is no room for doubt that it was in the country inhabited by them that some of the most famous Brāhmaṇa works were composed. Thus the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa in its chapter on the mahābhiṣeka of Indra, says, "Then in this firm middle established quarter the Sādhyas and the Āptyas, the gods, anointed him with six day with the Pañcaviṃśa, and with this triplet and this Yajus and these exclamations, for kingship. Therefore in this firm middle established quarter, whatever kings there are of the Kuru-Pañcālas with the Vaśas and Uśīnaras, they are anointed for kingship; 'king' they style them when anointed, in accordance with the action of the gods." (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 14., Tr. Keith, R̥gveda Brāhmaṇas, p. 331). From the way in which mention is made of the country of the Kuru-Pañcālas it is evident that the author of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa was a native of that region. With regard to the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajurveda, Weber would suggest a difference of locality (Weber, History of Indian literature, pp. 68 and 132). But the authors of the Vedic Index (I. 165) are of the opinion that "there is clear evidence that it was in the country of the Kurus, or the allied Kuru-Pañcālas, that the great Brāhmaṇas were

The Kurus in the
Brāhmaṇas and the
Upaniṣads.

composed." They further point out, "the Kurus are comparatively seldom mentioned alone, their name being usually coupled with that of the Pañcālas on account of the intimate connection of the two peoples. The Kuru-Pañcālas are often expressly referred to as a united nation. In the land of the Kuru-Pañcālas, speech is said to have its particular home; the mode of sacrifice among the Kuru-Pañcālas is proclaimed to be the best; the Kuru-Pañcāla kings perform the Rājasūya or royal sacrifice; their princes march forth on raids in the dewy season, and return in the hot season. Later on the Kuru-Pañcāla Brahmins are famous in the Upaniṣads." (Vedic Index, I. 165). When the Brāhmaṇas and earlier Upaniṣads were composed (C. 800-600 B.C.) the principal political units were the kingdoms of the Pañcālas and Kurus in the region of Delhi (Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. I, p. 20). In the last kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (cf. the Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, III. I. I. foll) we find mention of the Brāhmins of the Kuru-Pañcāla country who were invited and given huge largesses by Janaka, king of Videha.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XII. 9, 3, 3) speaks of a Kauravya King Balhika Prātipīya; Kauravya is here apparently a variant of the word Kaurava, in which form we find it in the Great Epic. The Nirukta of Yāska (II. 10) also asserts that Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa and Śantanu were Kauravyas. In the form Koravya the Kuru kings are designated in the Buddhist Pāli literature, as we shall show below.

The Chāndogya Upaniṣad, which is no doubt the remnant of an ancient Brāhmaṇa work belonging to the

Sāmaveda, contains an account of the destruction of the crops in the Kuru country by locusts or by a hailstorm and it recounts a story how a famished Ṛṣi of the Kuru land was forced to partake of food that was unclean. Thus it goes on, "When the Kurus had been destroyed by (hail) stones, Ushasti Cākrāyana lived as a beggar with his virgin wife at Ibhyagrāma. Seeing a chief eating beans, he begged of him. The chief said, 'I have no more, except those which are put away for me here.' Ushasti said : 'Give me to eat of them.' He gave him the beans, and said : 'There is something to drink also.' Then said Ushasti : 'If I drank of it, I should have drunk what was left by another, and is therefore unclean.' The chief said, 'Were not those beans also left over and therefore unclean ?' 'No', he replied, 'for I should not have lived, if I had not eaten them, but the drinking of water would be mere pleasure.' Having eaten himself, Ushasti gave the remaining beans to his wife. But she, having eaten before, took them and put them away. Rising the next morning, Ushasti said to her, 'Alas, if we could only get some food, we might gain a little wealth. The king here is going to offer a sacrifice, he should choose me for all the priestly offices.' His wife said to him : 'Look, here are those beans of yours.' Having eaten them, he went to the sacrifice which was being performed." (Chāndogya Upaniṣad, I. 10. 1-7 ; Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. I. pp. 18-19). The same Upaniṣad then recounts how in spite of this temporary impurity under the stress of hunger and famine, the Ṛṣi was successful in winning for himself the highest functions at the sacrifice.

We have seen that the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa speaks of

the country of the Kuru-Pañcālas as belonging to the *Dhruvā*
Madhyamā Dik, that is, to what is known

Location.

in later literature as the Madhyadeśa.

Prof. Rapson points out that the territories occupied by the Kurus extended to the east far beyond the limits of Kurukṣetra. The Kurus must have occupied the northern portion of the Doab, or the region between the Jumna and the Ganges, having as their neighbours on the east, the north Pañcālas, and on the south, the south Pañcālas, who held the rest of the Doab as far as the land of the Vatsas, the corner where the two rivers meet at Prayāga (Allāhābād). (Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 165).

The great lawgiver Manu speaks of the country of the Kurus and other allied peoples as forming a part of the sacred land of the Brahmarshis. "The plain of the Kurus, the (country of the) Matsyas, Pañcālas and Śūrasenakas, these (form), indeed, the country of the Brahmarshis, (Brahmanical sages, which ranks) immediately after Brahmāvarta." (Bühler, *Laws of Manu*, p. 32).

In the very first verse of the Bhagavadgītā, which is
 Sanctity of the Kuru the only book in India revered by people
 land. of all sorts of religious belief, the land of
 Kurus is called *Dharmakṣetra*, or the holy land.

In other parts of the Great Epic, too, Kurukṣetra is regarded as a land which was specially holy. Thus the Vanaparva (Chap. 129, pp. 394-395) tells us that Kurukṣetra was the holy spot of the righteous Kurus. It was here that Nahuṣa's son, Yayāti, performed many religious ceremonies, it was here that divine and royal sages performed the Śārasvata Yajña and it was here

that Prajāpati performed his Yajña. Manu also pays a tribute to the prowess and heroism of the people of Kurukṣetra. He advises a king who is going out on an expedition of conquest thus, “(Men born in) Kurukṣetra, Matsyas, Pañcālas and those born in Sūrasena, let him cause to fight in the van of the battle, as well as (others who are) tall and light.” (Bühler, *Laws of Manu*, p. 247).

Kurukṣetra is also regarded in the Brāhmaṇa texts as a particularly sacred country. Within its boundaries flowed the sacred streams Dṛṣadvatī and Sarasvatī, as well as the Āpayā (*Vedic Index*, 1, p. 169).

The ‘field of the Kurus’ or the region of Delhi, was the scene of the subsequent war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍus, in which according to the Epic in its present form, all the nations of India were ranged on one side or the other (Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 173). It has been the great battlefield of India ever since, as it forms a narrow strip of habitable country lying between the Himalayas and the Indian Desert through which every invading army from the Punjab must force its way. Because of this strategical importance, Delhi became the capital of India under the Mughal Emperors, who came into India by land from the north-west. The British, on the other hand, who came by sea made their earliest capitals near the coast. (*Ibid.*, p. 173). But Delhi has recently in 1912 been restored to its former proud position (*Ibid.*, p. 47).

Besides the Kurus of the Madhyadeśa we have reference to another Kuru people, viz, the Uttara-Kurus. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions the country of the Uttara-Kurus in its chapter on the

Importance of the
Kuru land.

The Northern Kurus.

10 ANCIENT MID-INDIAN KṢATRIYA TRIBES

mahābhīṣeka of Indra. It says, "Then in the northern quarter the All-gods anointed him with six days with the Pañcaviṃśa, and with this triplet and this Yajus and these exclamations, for sovereignty. Therefore, in this northern quarter, the lands of the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras, beyond the Himavant, their (kings) are anointed for sovereignty; 'O sovereign' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods" (Ait. Br. VIII, 14; Tr. Keith's Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas, pp. 330-331). The authors of the Vedic Index are of the opinion that at the time that the above passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa was written, the Uttara Kurus were a historical people. They observe, "The Uttara Kurus, who play a mythical part in the Epic and later literature, are still a historical people in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, where they are located beyond the Himālaya (pareṇa Himavantam). In another passage, however, the country of the Uttara Kurus is stated by Vāsiṣṭha Sātyahavya to be a land of the gods (deva-kṣetra), but Jānāntapi Atyarāti was anxious to conquer it, so that it is still not wholly mythical. It is reasonable to accept Zimmer's view that the northern Kurus were settled in Kaśmīr, especially as Kurukṣetra is the region where tribes advancing from Kaśmīr might naturally be found." (Ved. Index. I, p. 84)

In Buddhist literature also Uttara Kuru is very often mentioned as a mythic region, but there are some passages which go to show that there was a faint memory of a country that had once a historical existence. Thus we are told that the Buddha knowing the intention of Gayākassapa, the Jaṭila, living at Gayā, thought that it would be better if

he did not turn up at the spot of his sacrifice. So he went to Kurudīpa for alms and ate up what he received as alms on the bank of the Anotatta lake (Dīpavaṃsa, p. 16). It is stated in the Sāsanavaṃsa (p. 12) that the place of the inhabitants of Uttaradvīpa is called the kingdom of Kurus. (Kururaṭṭhaṃ.)

It is stated in the Papañcasūdanī that there was a janapada (province) named Kuru and the kings of that province used to be called Kurus. (P. T. S. edition, p. 225). The *Anguttara Nikāya* tells us that Kuru was one of the sixteen mahājanapadas or prominent countries of Jambudīpa. It had abundance of food and wealth. It was prosperous and it had seven kinds of gems (Vol. I., p. 213 ; Vol. IV., pp. 252, 256 and 260 ; *Dīgha Nikāya*, II., pp. 200, 201 and 203). As in the Brāhmaṇa literature so also in the Buddhist literature, the Kurus are comparatively seldom mentioned alone, their name being usually coupled with that of the Pañcālas on account of the intimate connection of the two peoples. In the same work we read that there was no vihāra for the Buddha's habitation in the Kuru kingdom. Outside the town of Kammāsadhamma, there was a beautiful forest where the Buddha used to dwell. As in the case of the great cities of Rājagaha, Vaiśālī, Sāketa, etc., the Enlightened One preferred to reside outside the city in the forests or gardens that skirted the town. The inhabitants of the Kuru kingdom, bhikkhus, bhikkhunīs, upāsakas and upāsikās enjoyed good health and their mind was always ready to receive instruction in profound religious truths because the climate there was bracing in all the seasons and

References to the
Southern Kurus in
Buddhist literature.

the food was good. The Buddha delivered some profound and learned discourses to the Kurus, *e.g.* the Mahānidāna and Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttantas of the Dīgha Nikāya. The Kurus, we are told, used to meditate on the satipaṭṭhāna which was so very familiar to them that even their servants used to do so. Wherever they met together, whether at the watering places or at the places of spinning, the Kurus had no other talk except that of satipaṭṭhāna. If any female in the kingdom of the Kurus had to admit that she knew nothing of satipaṭṭhāna, she was abused and was taught one of the satipaṭṭhānas. The birds of the kingdom of Kuru also are said to have been so trained as to meditate on satipaṭṭhāna. The story is told how in the kingdom of the Kurus, an actor had a trained bird which was left by mistake by its own owner near the hermitage of the sāmaṇeris. The bird was taught by them to meditate on aṭṭhi and one day it was caught hold of by a vulture but the bird, Buddharakkhita, was somehow recovered by the sāmaṇeris from the vulture and it was asked what it was thinking of while in the claws of the vulture. The bird replied that it was meditating on aṭṭhi. The sāmaṇeris thereupon praised it. (Papañcasūdani, P. T. S., pp. 227-229).

The Buddhist literature is full of stories in which the land of Kuru, and its princes and people play a leading part. In connection with the Thera Raṭṭhapāla, who has contributed verses to the Theragāthā, we are told that he was born in the town of Thullakoṭṭhika in the country of the Kurus, as the son of a councillor. In his youth he married a suitable wife and

Story of Raṭṭhapāla.

enjoyed heavenly happiness. At this time Buddha touring in the Kuru country came to Thullakoṭṭhika. Raṭṭhapāla heard him teaching and entertained faith in him. With great difficulty he secured the permission of his parents to renounce the world. At the Master's command he received ordination at the hand of a bhikkhu. He studied diligently, developed insight and won arahantship. He was then permitted to go from house to house for alms. One day King Koravya saw him and asked him why he had left the world. Raṭṭhapāla gave a long discourse as to the impermanence of everything worldly. He then dwelt upon the transitoriness of the human body, death and rebirth. Thus he taught the Norm to King Koravya and went back to the Master. Buddha praised him as the foremost of those who had renounced the world through faith. (Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 302-307). Again in the Majjhima Nikāya we read that Raṭṭhapāla went to the Deer-Park of King Koravya. The King went to hunt in the Deer-Park and he met Raṭṭhapāla there. The king gave up hunting and conversed with him about decay in old age, decay by disease, loss of wealth and loss of relatives. (Vol. II, p. 65 foll.).

The Dhammapada commentary relates the story how a bhikkhu who resided on the borders of the Kuru country, received charity from the people. After the death of Mahākosala, when Pasenadi ascended the throne of Kosala, a chaplain of the king of Kosala named Aggidatta, thinking that it would not be proper for him to serve under a young king, renounced the world after substituting his son in his place. He had 10,000 disciples and with them he used to live in a place situated

Story of Aggidatta.

between the eastern dominion of Aṅga-Magadha and the Kuru country, and the inhabitants of Aṅga-Magadha and the Kuru kingdom used to give them abundance of food and drink. (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. III, pp. 241-242). This Brahmin Aggidatta who was so highly revered by the people of the two countries, was, however, with his followers, converted by the Buddha on a day appointed to bestow upon him a big charity by the people of Aṅga-Magadha and Kuru. The people of these kingdoms, who brought food and drink, were astonished to find the bhikkhus there instead of the ṛsis, and enquired who the bhikkhus were, and afterwards came to know that the ṛsi with his disciples had been converted by the Buddha, and that the bhikkhus present there were formerly Aggidatta and his disciples. (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. III, pp. 246-247).

In the Therigāthā commentary (p. 87) we read that a therī named Nanduttarā was reborn in a Brahmin family in the city of Kammās-sadamma in the kingdom of the Kurus. She was versed in vijjā and sippa and obtained ordination from the Nigaṇṭhas. She went about as a disputant but she was defeated in argument by Mahākaccāyana and accepted ordination from him. She afterwards became an arahat with paṭisambhidā (analytical knowledge).

In the Paramatthadīpanī, the commentary on the Peta-vatthu, we have an account of the miseries suffered by a woman of the Kuru capital after her death. In the kingdom of the Kurus, at Hastināpura, there lived a woman of the

Story of Nanduttarā.

Story of Serinī.

town named Serinī. She was a heretic. She had no faith in the Buddha and did not approve of the meritorious deeds done by the people by offering gifts to *samaṇas* and *bhikkhus*. She was reborn as a *petī* and dwelt near a moat surrounding a city on the borders of the country. One morning before darkness had completely vanished, she met an *upāsaka* who while going to the city for trade, went near the moat. The *petī* recognised him and made herself visible. She had no covering on her body and was reduced to a skeleton horrible to look at. She related her past history and requested him to inform her mother of her wretched condition in the *petaloka* (world of spirits). At her importunate supplication the *upāsaka* communicated to her mother the request that she should take the money which she had kept underneath the bedstead and thereby make gifts on her behalf. Her mother complied with her request and the *petī* was at last freed from her tortures and sufferings in the *petaloka*. Her appearance was changed. Beautiful to look at, she appeared before her mother and recounted to her the whole history (*Paramatthadīpanī* on the *Petavatthu*, pp. 201-204).

The authors of the Vedic Index have expressed the opinion that the Kurus represent a comparatively late wave of Aryan immigration into India. "The geographical position of the Kuru-Pañcālas," they say, "renders it probable that they were later immigrants into India than the Kōśala-Videhas or the Kāśīs who must have been pushed into their more eastward territories by a new wave of Aryan settlers from the west. But there is no evidence in Vedic literature to show in what

Migration of the
Kurus.

16 ANCIENT MID-INDIAN KṢĀTRIYA TRIBES

relation of time the immigration of the latter peoples stood to that of their neighbours on the west." (Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 168-169).

In the Papañcasūdanī, there is a fanciful story of the origin of the Kurus. King Mahāmandhātā was a cakravartī king of Jambudīpa and as he was a cakravartī king (*i.e.*, he had acquired the title of cakravartīrājā because he had a cakrataṇa which could lead the king to any place he liked), he could go to any place. He conquered Pubbavideha, Aparagoyāna, Uttarakuru besides the deva-lokas. While returning from Uttarakuru, a large number of the inhabitants of that country followed Mahāmandhātā to Jambudīpa and the place in Jambudīpa where they settled, became known as Kururātṭhaṁ including provinces, villages, towns, etc. It is in this sense that the word Kurūsu (*i.e.* among the Kurus) occurs in the Pāli-Buddhist literature. (Papañcasūdanī, pp. 225-226).

The ancient capital of the Kurus was Hastināpura which was situated on the Ganges in the Meerut district of the United Provinces. Kuru cities. Indraprastha, the modern Indrapat near Delhi, was the second capital. According to the story told in the Mahābhārata, the blind king, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, continued to rule at the old capital Hastināpura on the Ganges while he assigned to his nephews, the five Pāṇḍus, a district on the Jumna where they founded Indraprastha (Rapson, Ancient India, p. 173). While the ancient capital of the Kurus sank into insignificance, the new city erected by the Pāṇḍavas, has not only come down to our time, but it has

acquired a fresh lease of life as the seat of the central government of the British Indian Empire. According to the Prākṛit legend given in the commentary on the Uttarādhyaṇa-Sūtra, Ishukāra (in prākṛit Usuyāra or Isuyāra), a wealthy and famous town, beautiful like heaven, was in the Kuru country. (Jaina Sūtras, pt. II, p. 62. n.). About the time that the Buddha lived, there were other cities in the Kuru country. Thus the Saṃyutta Nikāya refers to the Kuru city, Kammāsaddhamma which is also called Kammāsaddamma, because Kammāsa was brought under control by the Bodhisatta when he was born as a son of King Jayaddisa of Pañcāla. (Papañcasūdanī, pp. 226-227). This city of Kammāsaddamma is also said to have been the native city of therī Nanduttarā whose story we have given above. The story of Kammāsa is narrated in full in the Jayaddisa Jātaka in which we find that Bodhisatta was born as the son of King Jayaddisa of Pañcāla. One of the sons of the king was carried away by an ogress, a yakkhinī, who brought him up. The yakkhinīs are represented as fond of human flesh in the Buddhist literature, and it is related of our prince that when he was with the yakkhinī, he was in the habit of eating human flesh in the cemetery. The king was informed of it and troops were sent to capture him. The prince who had acquired yakkha habits, however, fled and could not be caught. He went to a forest and sometimes he used to come to the village and eat villagers, sometimes it so happened that he killed people going through the forest tract. He was at last brought under control by the Bodhisatta. This yakkha was called Kammāsa because a boil appeared on one of his legs, which

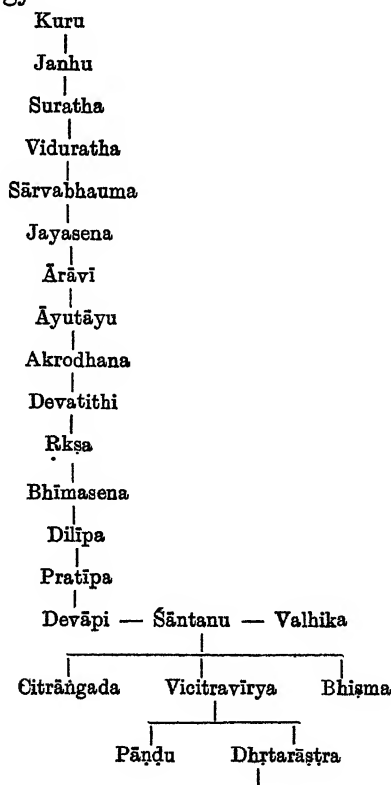
swelled. (Faüsboll, *Jātaka*, Vol. V, p. 21 foll). As is apparent, this story is only a variation of the Paurāṇic story of Kalmāṣapāda.

We have already spoken of the early kings of the Kurus mentioned in the Vedic literature. In the Epic and Paurāṇic tradition regarding the origin of the dynasty. Epic period, the Kurus became the most powerful Kṣatriya tribe in northern India after the downfall of the Magadha empire of Rājagṛha brought about by the killing of the Samrāt Jarāsandha by Bhīmasena, who belonged to the younger branch of the Kauravas. The Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata thus relates the story of the origin of the Kurus. Pūru, the son of Yayāti by Vṛṣaparva's daughter, Śarmiṣṭhā, and grandson of Nahuṣa, was fifth in descent from Pururavā, son of Ilā, daughter of Manu, the father of mankind (*mānava varṇa*). He was installed on the throne by his father who repaired to the Bhṛgutunga mountain, practised asceticism and then went to heaven. The dynasty which sprang from this Pūru, was celebrated as the Paurava dynasty. (Ādiparva, Vāṅgavāsī Ed., Ch. 75, pp. 86-88 ; Ch. 85, p. 96).

Tenth in descent from this Pūru, was Samvarana. When his kingdom was conquered by the king of the Pañcālas, Samvarana fled in fear, with his wives, children and ministers and took shelter in a forest on the banks of the Sindhu, where he stayed for a long time. He gained back his kingdom with the help of the sage Vaśiṣṭha, his priest. Then he was blessed with a child by Tapatī, daughter of Sūrya. This child was named Kuru. The people were charmed by the manifold good qualities of Kuru and anointed him king. After the name of this king, the plain became famous as

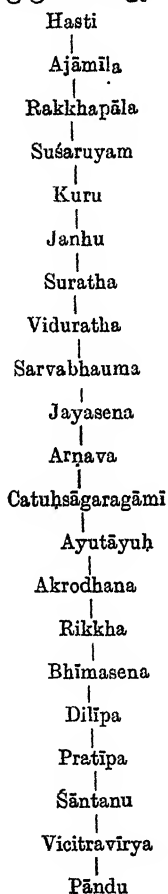
Kurukṣetra or the land of Kuru. (Ādiparva, Ch. 94, p. 104). From this Kuru was descended Śāntanu who hād, by Satya-vatī Matsyagandhā, the adopted daughter of a fisherman, a son named Vicitravīrya who died childless. At the request of Vicitravīrya's mother, Vyāsadeva begot on Vicitravīrya's wives two children named Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. Dhṛtarāṣṭra married Gāndhārī, daughter of Suvala, king of the Gandhāras, and had by her one hundred sons, Duryodhana, Duḥśāsana and others who were known as the Kurus or Kauravas. (Ādiparva, Ch. 95, p. 105).

In the Viṣṇupurāṇa, fourth amśa, Ch. 20, we have the following genealogy :—

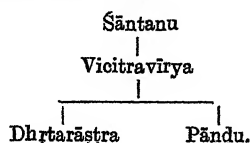


20 ANCIENT MID-INDIAN KṢĀTRIYA TRIBES

The following genealogy is given in the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa :



The Bhāgavatapurāṇa, (9 Skandha, Ch. 22) gives us the following genealogy :—



The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, as we have already

seen, represent Yayāti as the great progenitor of the Pūru family of which the Kurus were a branch. Early kings of the Yayāti performed a good many yajñas dynasty. (sacrifices). He helped the gods in the fight between gods and asuras. Of his many sons the elder ones were discarded on account of their disobedience, and when he went to the forest, he installed his youngest son, Pūru, as king. (Mahābhārata, Droṇaparva, Ch. 61, p. 1035). The Mahābhārata also gives us a detailed narrative of the birth of Bharata, the eponymous hero from whom the whole of India received its appellation as Bhāratavarṣa. The story as given by the great poet Kālidāsa of the same momentous event in the history of India, in his Abhijñāna Śakuntalam, differs in some minor details from the version in the Great Epic, but in the essential matters there is hardly any variation. The Epic relates how King Duṣmanta, a descendent of Pūru, had a son named Bharata. He was brought up by his mother, Śakuntalā, in a forest. He had great strength. He defeated the ferocious animals of the forest. He performed many Aśvamedha ceremonies near the Jumna. He gave a large amount of riches to the sage Kanva. He gave in charity elephants, chariots, camels, goats, male and female servants, cows, villages, houses, and garments to the brāhmins. (Droṇaparva, Ch. 66, p. 1037).

Pratīpa, a descendant of the great Bharata, was a Kuru king, great-grandfather of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. His fame had spread throughout the whole world. He ruled righteously. He had three sons, Devāpi, Vāhlīka and Śāntanu, the grandfather of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Devāpi was a leper. He was honest and liked by all. The three brothers were fast friends.

King Pratīpa was prevented by old brahmins and the inhabitants of the Kuru land from placing Devāpi on the throne on the ground that he was a leper. Devāpi became an ascetic. Vāhlika went to his maternal uncle's place. After the death of Pratīpa, Vāhlika granted permission to his brother Śāntanu to rule over the country which had come down to them from their father. Since then Śāntanu was the ruler of the kingdom of Kuru. (Udyogaparva, Ch. 149, p. 771).

After Śāntanu came his sons Citrāṅgada and Vicitra-vīrya, and his grandsons Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra. The eldest son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra was Duryodhana who could work miracles by the power of mantras. He could extinguish fire, put in its proper place the earth or the mountain, in case it would split up. If a strong wind blew, or if a violent hailstorm seemed to destroy the world, he could stop it. He could so completely stop the course of water that chariots, infantry, etc., could go over it. He could change the feelings of gods and demons. (Udyogaparva, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., Ch. 61, p. 707). Duryodhana attended the Svayamvara of the daughter of Citrāṅgada, king of Kāliṅga, in his capital, Śrīrājapura. When the princess walked onwards passing over Duryodhana, he could not brook this insult; with the help of Bhīṣma and Droṇa and by his own prowess he carried away the princess in a chariot, by defeating the other rival kings and brought her to Hastināpura, his capital. (Śāntiparva, Ch. 4, p. 1378). It was in the time of Duryodhana that the great battle of Kurukṣetra was fought.

Any account of the Kurus would be incomplete without a reference to the great battle which forms the subject-

matter of the Great Epic known as the Mahābhārata. Even if we confine ourselves to the kernel of the huge poem of two hundred thousand verses, that is, the portion dealing with the war and its causes, we shall find the work of giving a summary of the main events alone, a task of no little difficulty. We are here attempting to furnish a succinct epitome of the principal incidents of the war.

It need hardly be demonstrated that the Epic does not attempt the task of describing a fight between the Kurus and the Pañcālas, as was supposed by some scholars, but it will be apparent to every careful reader that its main purpose is to describe a war between two branches of the Kuru royal family. We have already

Enmity between the two branches of the Kuru royal family.

seen before how Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu were begot. The former being a blind man, Pāṇḍu, though younger, was placed on the throne left vacant by the death of Vicitravīrya. So far there was nothing

to speak against it, but matters grew complex when sons were born to both the brothers, and the difficulty was not lessened by the suspicious circumstances under which the five Pāṇḍava brothers (Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva) were borne away from the capital. The sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra headed by Duryodhana, with the connivance of their father, tried to do away with the Pāṇḍavas when young, but with the help of their friends, the latter came out of the dangers that beset them in their youth, and claimed a portion at least of their paternal dominions. Their cousins saw that this claim was backed by a considerable

body of public opinion, and as a result of the compromise arrived at between the two sections of the royal family, the sons of Pāṇḍu built up a new capital at Indraprastha and placing the eldest, Yudhiṣṭhira, on the throne, sought to win a new kingdom for themselves by their own prowess. They were eminently successful in their endeavour and performed the Rājasūya sacrifice as a proof of their dominant position among the monarchs of India. Yudhiṣṭhira was virtuous. His treasury was talked of by the people of remote countries. He had an assembly-hall reputed to have been built by the great asura Maya. Duryodhana heard of his riches and prosperity and became filled with jealousy. With Śakuni, his maternal uncle and evil genius, he visited the assembly-hall. Śakuni then advised him to invite Yudhiṣṭhira to a game of dice. The latter could not refuse when invited as it was a matter of honour among the Indian Kṣatriyas in those days. Refusal to accept an invitation to a game at dice was looked upon as a mark of greater cowardice than the refusal of an invitation to a duel. Owing to dishonest tricks on the part of Śakuni, the game resulted in the defeat of Yudhiṣṭhira. In accordance with the stake, Yudhiṣṭhira with his brothers and wife Draupadī, left his kingdom and started for the forest. There, in the wood, the Pāṇḍavas with their wife lived for twelve consecutive years. On the expiry of the twelfth year of their banishment, they went to the Matsya country ruled over by King Virāṭa, to live *incognito* for the thirteenth year of their exile. On the expiry of this period of exile, they spoke out their identity.

Virāṭa, king of the Matsyas, and his people honoured

Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers and a genuine regard for them was felt, inasmuch as they had prevented the predatory excursions of the Trigarttas and the Kurus against their cattle. The bond with the Matsyas was further cemented by the marriage of Virāṭa's daughter with Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna. Then there were their powerful relatives, the Pañcālas. It was, therefore, felt that a successful attempt might be made for the recovery of the dominions out of which they were cheated by a game of chance. Drupada, the Pañcāla monarch, suggested that the Pāṇḍavas should get back their kingdom by means of war as Duryodhana would not let them have their kingdom which had been snatched away by trick. The suggestion was accepted by all those who were consulted about the matter. Kings of other neighbouring countries were invited to help the Pāṇḍavas in winning their kingdom. But before the war began, the

Failure of peace
negotiations.

Pāṇḍavas made a last attempt to negotiate peace and sent Kṛiṣṇa Vāsudeva, the Yadu prince, to the Kuru court. Duryodhana said, "I shall not, so long as there is life in me, part with even so much earth as can be held on the point of a very fine needle. The kingdom which ought not to have been given away, was made over to them when I depended on another. But now the kingdom can under no circumstances be regained by the sons of Pāṇḍu." (Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva, Vaṅga-vāsī Ed., Chap. 127).

Vāsudeva came back to the Pāṇḍavas and told them what the Kurus had said. Then everything was arranged for the fight. Allies were invited from far and near from all parts of India. The kings of the south also contributed

their quota. At that time the Kṣatriyas had spread over the whole of India and all of them were ranged on one side or the other.

Drupada, Virāta, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, Śikhaṇḍi, Sātyaki, Cekitāna, and Bhimasena, these seven heroes were installed as the leaders of the Pāṇḍava army. (Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva, Ch. 151). Dhṛṣṭadyumna was made the generalissimo. (Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva, Ch. 163).

Arjuna was the greatest hero on their side and every one felt that the issue of the dreadful battle that was to ensue, depended, in a great measure, on his individual prowess. Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva was his chief of staff, so to say, and in one word, his guide, philosopher and friend. Being prevented by his vow from handling arms in the battle, Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, "the younger brother of Saṅkaraṣaṇa, Janārdana of great intelligence," took upon himself the duty of driving the chariot of his friend.

The Indian army in those days as in later times had four divisions:—viz., foot-soldiers, elephants, chariots and horses. Arriving at Kurukṣetra the powerful Pāṇḍavas encamped with their troops on the western part of the field, their faces turned towards the east. Yudhiṣṭhira ordered tents to be pitched by thousands beyond the region called Samantapañcaka. The commissariat, providing for the food and raiments, and the other necessities of military life, was attended to with great care. (Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva, Ch. 198). The army that Duryodhana had mustered to meet this huge force of the Pāṇḍavas and their allies, was numerically much stronger being in the proportion of 11 to 7.

(Ibid. Ch. 151 and Ibid. Ch. 154). Of the eighteen akṣauhiṇīs that assembled on the famous field, eleven were on the side of Duryodhana and seven on that of his cousins. In individual heroes also his army was apparently much stronger ; he had at least three heroes, each of whom was quite a match for the great Arjuna, and he himself was no less a wielder of the mace than Bhīma. As we know, conscience makes cowards of us all, and the Kuru king in spite of every chance of success on his side, felt misgivings on the eve of the battle, while the Pāṇḍavas were buoyed up with the righteousness of their cause. Duryodhana made the hoary-headed Bhīṣma, than whom there was no mightier hero in India, the commander of his huge army, the like of which had hardly ever been seen before. Duryodhana himself with all his brothers was the foremost of car-warriors. He was experienced in the use of the mace, swords and shields. His ally Kṛtavarmaṇ, king of the Bhojas, was an atiratha (mightier car-warrior). Śalya, king of the Madras, though a near relative of the Pāṇḍavas was won over by Duryodhana to his side. He was also an atiratha and abandoning his own nephews (sister's sons), he ranged himself with his numerous host on Duryodhana's side.

First of all Vinda and Anuvinda, princes of Avanti, and the Kekayas with the Vālhikas marched with Bhāradwāja at their head. Then came Aśwatthāman and Bhīṣma and Jayadratha of the Sindhu country and those kings who came from the south and west and other mountainous territories. The Gāndhāra king, Śakuni, and all those who came from the east and north, followed them ; and foreign levies, the Śakas, Kirātas, Yavanas, Śivis and the

Vasātis came next. All these with their respective forces surrounded their mahārathas and all the mahārathas went out in the second division of the army. Then came Kṛtavarman with his forces, and the great car-warrior, Trigartta and King Duryodhana surrounded by his brothers. Śalya and Br̥hadbala, king of the Kośalas, marched in the rear; and these followers of Duryodhana took up their station on the back part of the plains of Kurukṣetra. Duryodhana caused his camps to be so made as to look like a second Hastināpura. Into these camps he made soldiers with their horses enter in groups of a hundred each. He fixed names and emblems for all of them so that they might be recognised at the time of battle. He saw from a distance the top of the flag staff of Yudhiṣṭhira and arranged his troops against the Pāṇḍavas.

When the two powers were thus ready to fight, the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas were

Rules of fair fight. bound to follow the traditional rules of a fair fight among the Kṣatriyas of India. Only men equally situated, should fight with one another with all fairness. Combatants armed with the same kind of weapons, should be ranged against one another. Those that leave the battle-field, should never be killed, a flying enemy was not to be pursued, and one devoid of arms, should never be struck. A car-warrior should fight only with a car-warrior. He who rides on an elephant should fight only with another similarly equipped. A horse-man must fight with a horse-man and a foot-soldier with a foot-soldier. One engaged

in a personal combat with another, one seeking refuge, one retreating, one whose weapon is broken, and one who is clad in armour should never be struck. Non-combatants on the field of battle such as charioteers, attendants engaged in carrying weapons, the players on drums and those who blow conches, should never be smitten. (Mahābhārata, Bhīṣmaparva, Chap. I).

This was the tacit understanding between the two armies and the rules were generally not violated except under very special circumstances. On the day on which the battle commenced, the moon approached the constellation Maghā. The seven large planets appeared in the sky like so many blazing fires.

The Kuru army with Bhīṣma at its head advanced first. The Pāṇḍava army with Bhīmasena at its head then advanced. The soldiers of both the parties rushed upon one another with loud yells with a simultaneous blowing of conches by the heroes.

The fight raged furiously for ten days, at the end of which, Bhīṣma fell on the field, pierced by the arrows of Arjuna and Śikhaṇḍī, with his head laid towards the east. He passed away on a bed of arrows. When Droṇa heard of Bhīṣma's death, he stopped his own troops from fighting any longer. Beholding the Kurus desist from the fight, the Pāṇḍavas also withdrew their own divisions from the field. Thus, with the withdrawal of the forces on both sides, ended the tenth day's battle.

On Bhīṣma's death, Droṇa was made the commander of the Kaurava troops. Karna stood at the head of the Kaurava army and Arjuna,

The death of Bhīṣma.

The death of Abhi-
manyu.

at the head of the Pāṇḍavas. The battle recommenced. Droṇa charged the divisions commanded by Yudhiṣṭhira. A fierce fight ensued. Droṇa formed a circular array, the famous Cakravyūha. At the head of the array all the Kuru princes were stationed. Duryodhana was in the very centre. A furious battle ensued between Duḥśāsana and Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna. Duḥśāsana and Karṇa were defeated by the young hero. Abhimanyu was then attacked by Duryodhana. For a short time a fierce battle was fought between them when Duryodhana afflicted with arrows, turned away from the field. Then ensued a fight between Abhimanyu and Bṛhadbala, king of Kośala. The latter was pierced with arrows on the breast and fell down with his breast cleft open and died. Abhimanyu next crushed down Suvala's son Kālikeya and slew seventy-seven of the followers of the Gāndhāra race. Then he was attacked by all the great Kuru warriors together, who thus violated the rules of fair fight, and Duḥśāsana's son smote him on the crown by a mace when he was trying to meet the combined onset of the Kuru leaders. Confounded with the great force of that mace-stroke and overpowered by the fatigue of the unequal combat, Abhimanyu fell down senseless on the ground and died. The sun set. The two armies retired for night's rest.

Droṇa arranged his troops in battle array. Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna then assailed him. A fierce battle was fought. Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna rushed furiously upon Droṇa, but the Pañcāla prince was no match for the mighty teacher of the Kurus and the

The death of Droṇa.

Pāṇḍavas. It was only when a false report about the death of his son was conveyed to him, that he out of fatherly affection for his only child, laid down his arms and set his heart on Viṣṇu. Dhṛṣṭadyumna took advantage of this opportunity and made an onset against him and was successful in dealing a fatal blow at the great brahmin leader of the Kuru forces. This was not quite in keeping with the rules of fair fight. Slightly bending down his face and shutting his eyes and reposing on the quality of goodness and directing his mind on meditation and thinking on the monosyllabic 'Om,' Droṇa, the preceptor of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas, went to heaven.

After Droṇa's death, Duryodhana and his allies made Karṇa their leader and proceeded to battle. The death of Karṇa. Karṇa fought valiantly for two days, then he was killed by Arjuna. The Kuru soldiers dispersed on Karṇa's death.

After the death of Karṇa, Śalya was appointed the commander-in-Chief of the Kurus. Yudhiṣṭhira met him who was now at the head of the Kuru army. The Pāṇḍu king took up a dart whose handle was made of gold and set with gems. Having inspired it with many mantras and impregnated it with terrible velocity by the exercise of great power and care, Yudhiṣṭhira hurled it for the destruction of the king of the Madras. Śalya cried aloud and tried in vain to catch that excellent dart with all his strength. Cutting through his very vitals and his fair and broad chest, that dart entered the earth. Death of Śalya. Śalya, stretching his arms, dropped down dead on the ground. The followers of the Madra king were also killed.

A great disorder prevailed in the Kuru army now consisting of a few scattered soldiers.

Sahadeva then said to Śakuni, "All the wicked men who ridiculed us at the notorious game at
Death of Śakuni.
 dice are now dead and gone, only Duryodhana and you, his maternal uncle, survive. To-day I will make short work with you." With these words, Sahadeva pierced Śakuni with ten arrows and his horses with four. He cut off Śakuni's umbrella, standard and bow. Then Śakuni, his quiver being exhausted, rushed against Sahadeva with a lance adorned with gold. Sahadeva with three broad-headed arrows cut off that uplifted lance; and with a broad arrow made of the finest steel, adorned with wings of gold, he cut off from his trunk his enemy's head. Deprived of his head by the son of Pāṇḍu, Śakuni's lifeless trunk dropped down on the earth.

On the death of Śakuni, Duryodhana with the remnant of the Kaurava army rushed against the Pāṇḍavas who, however, killed the remnant of the Kuru troops. The mighty host of Kṣatriyas, eleven akṣauhiṇīs in number, who had cast their fortune with Duryodhana, had fallen on the field. Duryodhana looked on all sides and saw his grand army entirely vanish save and except the heroic son of Droṇa (Aśvatthāman), Kṛipā and Kṛtavarman. He then fled to a lake and hid himself there. The Pāṇḍavas, however, discovered the whereabouts of Duryodhana through information supplied by the hunters and went to the lake and forced him to come out. There was an exchange of angry words resulting in a mace encounter between Duryodhana and Bhīma. Bhīmasena

rushed at Duryodhana with a loud roar and fiercely struck with his mace at the thighs of the Kuru king as the upper part of the body was hard like stone and was proof against the heaviest mace wielded by the strongest hero. That mace, strong like a thunder and hurled by Bhīma, broke the two handsome thighs of Duryodhana. The Kuru king then fell down on the ground. The surviving Kaurava warriors arrived at the battle-field. They were sorely grieved to see the once powerful king wallowing in the dust. Duryodhana lamented his untimely death that was approaching fast, and at last lay dead on the field of battle. The Pāṇḍavas thus won the victory in the great Kurukṣetra war. Their own army had also vanished under the terrible onsets of the Kuru heroes and it was hardly a handful that came out of the fray with their lives.

The death of Duryo-
dhana.

On the termination of the great Kurukṣetra war and on the death of the hundred sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the line of the Kurus through Dhṛtarāṣṭra became extinct.

End of the war.

The Pāṇḍavas regained their lost kingdom and became lords of the Kuru kingdom. Yudhiṣṭhira was made king. The victors showed proper respect to Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his queens who, however, lived under their care for a very short time. Accompanied by Kuntī, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas, they repaired to a forest to pass the remainder of their days in the Vānaprastha āśrama as was the wont among the higher castes among the Indo-Aryans. Yudhiṣṭhira did not reign long. When he heard of the destruction of the Vṛṣṇis and of Kṛṣṇa's departure from the world, he determined to leave the world. His brothers also did the same.

Yudhiṣṭhira then made over the kingdom of Śakraprastha to Prince Vajra, the only survivor of the Yadus, and the kingdom of Hastināpura to Parīkṣita, son of Abhimanyu, by his wife Uttarā and grandson of Arjuna.

Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna, begot on his wife Uttarā, Parīkṣit and Janamejaya. a son on the decrease (parīkṣiṇa) of the members of the Kuru race. Hence the boy was called Parīkṣita. He was installed on the throne of Hastināpura by Yudhiṣṭhira on the eve of his departure from the world. The new monarch was learned in the science of the duties of kings, and is credited with having possessed all noble qualities. He is described as a highly intelligent ruler, fully acquainted with the principles of Ethics. He reigned for sixty years, and was loved by all his subjects. He was a great hero who wielded a very powerful bow, and never missed his aim. He was very fond of hunting. Once he left his kingdom in charge of his ministers and went to a forest for hunting. He pierced a deer with an arrow but the deer ran away. He chased the animal but in vain. He soon became tired and thirsty. While roaming hither and thither, he met a sage and asked him whether he had seen any deer running that way. As the sage was observing the vow of silence, he did not reply. Angered at this, the king took up a dead snake with the end of his bow, placed it round the neck of the sage and went away. Shortly after Śṛṅgī, son of the sage, heard of this on his way home after worshipping Prajāpati. He cursed the king saying, "on the seventh day from date, by my order, Takṣaka, king of the nāgas (snakes), will reduce to ashes that sinful man who has

placed a dead snake round the neck of my innocent father.” Then Śṛṅgī spoke to his father about what he had done. The sage was sorry and informed the king of the curse and asked him to be careful. On the seventh day Takṣaka, king of the snakes, was coming to the palace of Parīkṣita in the guise of a brāhmaṇa. On the way he met a sage named Kāśyapa. Takṣaka asked the sage where he was going. The latter replied that he was going to Parīkṣita to animate him after he had been smitten by the king of the snakes. Being asked by Takṣaka, Kāśyapa showed what wonder could be effected by his science by imparting life to a banian tree bitten and reduced to ashes by the serpent king. Takṣaka was surprised. He entreated Kāśyapa to go back and gave him much wealth. The sage went home with the money. Takṣaka then went to the palace in the guise of a brāhmaṇa and bit the king who was reduced to ashes.

On the death of Parīkṣita, his son, Janamejaya, ascended the throne. He heard of his father's death from a nāga and resolved to perform a snake sacrifice. Accordingly everything was arranged. The ṛsis by the force of their mantras caused all the snakes to fall into the sacrificial fire. The snakes in their thousands fell into the fire. The king of snakes was frightened and became Indra's protegee. This fact was told to the king by the saints officiating at the sacrifice. The king then said in anger, “Let Takṣaka come with Indra, the god of gods, and fall into the fire.” Takṣaka appeared in the sky with Indra who saw the sacrifice and returned home in fear. Then Takṣaka approached the flame. At this time Āstika, a learned young sage, the son

of his sister who had been married to the ṛṣi Jaratkāru, came to the king and praised him with many sweet and learned words. The king was pleased and asked him to pray for a boon. The sage uttered, "Stay, stay, stay." Takṣaka stayed in the air. The sage then prayed for the safety of the snakes and for the suspension of the sacrifice. The king entreated Āstika to pray for something else. But the sage would not do so. He told the king that he had come there to save his maternal uncle's life. All the sages present there asked the king to grant the boon as he (the king) had already made a promise. The king granted the boon. The snake sacrifice was suspended. The king gave money to the sacrificial priests and to all who were present at the great snake sacrifice. He then returned from Takṣaśilā to Hastināpura.

We have given above a summary of the Epic account of the battle of Kurukṣetra and of the reigns of Parīkṣit and Janamejaya. We cannot vouch for the authenticity of the entire account. But the historicity of the battle itself and of the Kuru kings who ruled shortly after it, need not be doubted.

In addition to the Kuru kings mentioned in the Epics and Purāṇas, we have reference to a number of kings who play an important part in many well-known stories of Buddhist literature. In the Dhammapada commentary we have the following story. In the past, in the kingdom of Kuru, in the capital city of Indapatta, the Bodhisatta was born in the womb of the chief-queen of the ruling sovereign. He went to Taxila to educate himself and after completing his education,

Kings mentioned in
Buddhist literature.

he was appointed a viceroy by his father and after his father's death, he used to obey the Kuru-dhamma without violating the ten rāja-dhammas. Kurudhamma was the observance of the five sīlas and it possessed the mystic virtue of bringing prosperity on the whole country. The Bodhisatta with his mother, the chief queen, and all his principal officers including his younger brother who was a viceroy, the chaplain, the rajjugāhaka (one who holds the reins and drives a chariot), minister, charioteer, banker, the officer-in-charge of agricultural products, gate-keeper and courtesan, used to perform the Kuru-dhamma. At this time a king Kāliṅga reigned in Dantapura in the kingdom of Kāliṅga but there had been no rain in his kingdom. Bodhisatta, king of the Kurus, had a royal elephant named Añjanavasabha which was brought to the kingdom of Kāliṅga under the belief that the mere presence of the Kuru elephant would bring down rain from the heavens but in vain. Afterwards it was discovered that rain did not fall in Kāliṅga because the Kurudhamma was not observed there. Hence brahmins were sent to the kingdom of Kuru to make themselves acquainted with the Kurudhamma. They were instructed to write out the Kuru-dhamma on a gold plate. Kāliṅga after going through the Kuru-dhamma written on a gold plate, observed it fully and rain poured in showers in his kingdom. The kingdom of Kāliṅga was saved and there was abundance of crops. (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. IV, pp. 88-89). A Jātaka story also narrates the same event showing the extra-

Story of the Kuru king who observed the five sīlas.

ordinary virtues of the observance of the Kuru-dhamma. It relates how Bodhisatta was born as a son of the queen-consort of Dhanañjaya, king of Indapatta in the Kuru kingdom. He was educated at Takkaṣilā. On his father's death, he became king; and adhering to the ten royal duties he observed the Kuru righteousness which means five virtues. At this period, there reigned in the city of Dantapura in Kāliṅga a king named Kāliṅga. Famine raged in his kingdom for want of rain. People complained to the king and in vain suggested various remedies. As desired by his subjects, the king observed various vows, and performed diverse deeds of virtue. Even then there was no rain. At last requested by his people, King Kāliṅga sent some brahmins to the Kuru kingdom to bring a record written on a plate of gold, of the Kuru righteousness observed by the royal family of the king of the Kurus. The Kuru king and the members of his royal family imparted to the brahmins the Kuru righteousness, the observance of which by King Kāliṅga caused rain to come down. Famine disappeared and Kāliṅga's kingdom gained its lost glory. The Bodhisatta had six almonries built for the distribution of 600,000 pieces of money in alms. Throughout his life, he did good and then with his subjects passed on to the heavens. (Kurudhamma-Jātaka, Cowell, Vol. II, pp. 251-260).

Dhanañjaya Koravya was a king who reigned in the city of Indapatta in the Kuru kingdom.

Story of the Kuru
king and his minister
Suciṛata.

His priest and adviser was a brahmin named Suciṛata. The king was very righteous and charitable. One day the king was seized with a desire of knowing the Good and

True. Sucīrata told the king that his desires might be fulfilled by Vidhura who lived in Benares. Sucīrata was sent to Benares where he tried some wise men, one of whom referred him to Saṃbhava who gave a discourse on Goodness and Truth. Sucīrata offered him a thousand weight of gold, wrote down the answer to the question with vermilion on a golden tablet, and on coming to the city of Indapatta he told the king the answer as to the service of truth. The king steadfastly observed righteousness and attained to heaven. (Cowell, Jātaka, Vol. V, pp. 31-37). King Koravya was a righteous king of Indapatta in the kingdom of Kuru. His son by his chief queen was Bodhisatta who, on account of his great liking for the juice pressed from the soma plant, was named Sutasoma. He was educated at Taxila. He performed many acts of charity, such as alms-giving and the like, and attained to heaven. (Cowell, Jātaka, Vol. V, p. 246). The Jātaka adds that the kingdom of Kuru extends over three hundred leagues. (Cowell, Jātaka, Vol. V, p. 264).

There reigned a king named Koravya in the city of Indapatta in the Kuru kingdom. He was
The Kuru king and
Vidhūra the wise. very charitable. Daily he distributed alms to one and all. But not one amongst the receivers kept the five virtues. The king consulted his minister named Vidhūra who gave an account of the character of those who were brahmins in name only. The king was not satisfied and asked his minister to describe those who were real brahmins in the highest sense. The minister said that there were brahmins wise and good, free from deeds of evil lust, living on one meal a day ; such brah-

mins never touched strong drink. The king was anxious to entertain them. Vidhūra cast eight handfuls of flowers into the air which, by his virtue, reached the Paccekabuddhas who understood that they were invited by the wise Vidhūra. The Paccekabuddhas came there from the cave of Mount Nanda in northern Himālaya. They were received by the king for seven days. On the seventh day the king gave them all the requisites. Then they left the kingdom. (Cowell, *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, pp. 227-231).

Once upon a time in the city of Indapattana, in the kingdom of the Kurus, a king named Dhanañjaya of the race of Yudhiṭṭhila, was the reigning monarch. The Bodhisatta was born in the house of his family priest. When he grew up, he learnt all the arts at Taxila. He then returned to Indapattana and after his father's death, he became the family priest to the king and also his counsellor in things, temporal and spiritual. He was called Vidhūrapaṇḍita. Dhanañjaya disregarded his old soldiers and showed favour to new-comers. This offended the former, so that when he went to put down a rebellion on a disturbed frontier, neither the old soldiers nor the new-comers fought on his side with the result that he was defeated. After his return to Indapattana, he thought that his defeat was due to the favour shown to the new-comers. He consulted Vidhūrapaṇḍita who consoled him by telling the tale of Dhūmakāri, a brahmin goat-herd. The king was pleased and gave him much wealth. Henceforth he showed favour to his own people and doing deeds of charity and virtue, he became destined for heaven. (*Jātaka*, Cowell, Vol. III, pp. 241-242).

The story of the King Dhanañjaya-korabba and his

wise minister, appears to have been very popular in the Jātaka times, so that events in the story find repeated mention in the tales. In the past, in the Kuru kingdom, in the city of Indapatta, there reigned a king named Dhanañjaya-Korabba. His minister was Vidhurapaṇḍita who gave him instruction concerning both temporal and spiritual matters. He had a sweet tongue and great eloquence in discoursing on the law. He charmed all the kings of Jambudīpa by his sweet discourses. It so happened that Sakka and Dhanañjaya met each other. Sakka described his own virtues and King Dhanañjaya said that he had abandoned his court and seraglio with 16,000 dancing girls, and added that he had led an ascetic's life in a garden and therefore his virtues were superior. They each declared their own virtue as superior, and at last they went to Vidhurapaṇḍita for solution and an impartial verdict. The doubt was at last solved to the satisfaction of both the parties. Dhanañjaya-Korabba was renowned for his skill in gambling. Puṇṇaka said that he would conquer him in play and capture Vidhurapaṇḍita. There were many jewels in his house and he would not play for any poor sum. Puṇṇaka went to the city of Indapatta and came to the court of the Kurus and praised Korabba. Puṇṇaka and Korabba sat to play dice in the gambling hall. A hundred kings sat down on suitable seats to watch the game. Puṇṇaka said quickly, "Oh king, there are twenty-four throws in playing with dice, they are called Mālika, Sāvata, Bahula, Santi, Bhadra etc.; choose thou whichever pleases thee." King Dhanañjaya agreed and chose the Bahula. Puṇṇaka chose the Sāvata. The result of this play was that Dhanañjaya was defeated and Puṇṇaka

became victorious. (Jātaka, Cowell, Vol. VI, pp. 126-137).

Though the Buddha principally confined his minister-
ing activity to north-eastern India,
yet the Buddhist Pali texts show that
he travelled widely over regions in northern India and
preached his religion of peace and freedom from the inherent
sufferings of the human beings. The Kuru country also
appears to have been favoured by his discourses. While the
Buddha dwelt among the Kurus in the town of Kam-
māsadhamma, he held discourses on diverse subjects at
different times as will be evident from the Nikāyas. In the
Aṅguttara Nikāya we read that the Master addressed the
Bhikkhus on the subject of the ten abodes of the Ariyas
which he enumerated and described. The Ariyas, present,
past and future, must dwell in these abodes and nowhere
else. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. V, pp. 29-32).

Ānanda went to the Buddha and sat on one side after saluting the Master. He said to the Buddha, "It is strange that the dependent origination which is so very deep, appears to me a trifle." The Buddha asked Ānanda not to think like that because on account of ignorance and non-realisation of dependent origination, people are put to trouble and cannot overcome re-birth. Buddha cited some instances on this subject. On account of objects which bring about attachment, desire is produced, from desire comes attachment and from attachment comes birth and so forth. (Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. II, pp. 92-93). The Buddha addressed the bhikkhus, and asked them whether they used to meditate on the cause of various kinds of sufferings. One

of the bhikkhus answered in the affirmative and the Buddha asked him what he used to do. The Master was not satisfied with what he said. At the request of Ānanda, Buddha told the bhikkhus what they should do. The Teacher said, "Upadhi (attachment) is the cause of the origination of suffering." After listening to it, the bhikkhus attempted to root out suffering, (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 107-109). On another occasion the Buddha delivered the famous discourse on *Satipaṭṭhāna*. He enumerated and described the four kinds of *Satipaṭṭhāna*. (*Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. I, pp. 55 foll.). Once the Master was dwelling in a thatched room where the fire-place of Bhāradvājagotta was. He then went to the forest. Buddha, by his divine ear, heard the conversation between Māgandiya, a brahmin of the Kuru country, and Bhāradvāja at the place of Bhāradvāja who was speaking in praise of the Buddha while Māgandiya was speaking ill of him. The Buddha came back to the abode of Bhāradvāja and said, "I give instruction to persons to restrain the six organs of sense because finding delight in form etc. through them, people generally beget attachment and other sins. I am called Bhūnahū because I advise thus" (*M. N.*, I, p. 501 foll.). Māgandiya had a beautiful daughter named Māgandiyā. He was on the look out for a suitable bridegroom for his daughter, and found none but the Buddha to be the fit person to be the husband of his daughter, and requested the Teacher when he went to the Kuru kingdom to accept his daughter as *pādacārikā*. The Buddha neither refused nor accepted his proposal but preached a beautiful sermon which ultimately made the brahmin and his wife renounce the world. Māgandiyā was left in

charge of her uncle who afterwards gave her in marriage to King Udena of Kosambī. (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. I, pp. 199-203, cf. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 193 foll.).

Buddha was once sojourning in the kingdom of the Kurus with a large number of bhikkhus. There was a town named Thullakotṭhita of the Kurus. The brahmin householders of Thullakotṭhita heard the news of the advent of the Buddha in their country. The Buddha gave them a religious discourse. They were pleased and went away. A youngman named Raṭṭhapāla listening to the teachings of the Buddha, asked for ordination from the Buddha. He was afterwards ordained. (M. N, II., p. 54 foll.).

We are told by the Majjhima Nikāya that when the Buddha was among the Kurus in the Kuru-town of Kammasadhamma, he gave a discourse on permanency, voidness, baneful and illusory effect of kamma. He also delivered sermons on the good effect of spending time in meditation on the four āruppas (four objects of formlessness) ; and he also answered the questions of Ānanda regarding who would obtain parinirvāṇa and who would not, etc. (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 261 foll.).

In the Mahā-Nidāna Suttanta we read that the discourse in this Suttanta was delivered by the Buddha to Ānanda while living among the Kurus in Kammāssadhamma, the capital of the Kurus. Ānanda said to the Buddha, "It is strange that the dhamma which is deep and profound, appears to me to be very easy." Buddha told Ānanda not to say so. The Buddha said, "On account of ignorance and non-realisation of this dhamma, people are entangled in this world and cannot overcome hell." Then the Suttanta deals with

the chain of causation. It treats of the cause of jāti, jarā, maraṇa, etc., and deals with dependent origination. (Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 55 foll.).

When the Buddha was among the Kurus in Kammāssadhamma, the capital of the Kurus, he addressed the bhikkhus on the four Satipaṭṭhānas, *e.g.* Kāyānupassanā (meditation on the impurities of body and meditation on inhalation and exhalation), Vedanānupassanā (meditation on sensation), Cittānupassanā (meditation on Citta), and Dhammānupassanā (meditation on dhamma).

Five hindrances

Five objects of attachment

Six āyatanas (abodes)

Seven bojjhaṅgas (wisdom factors)

Four Ariyasaccas (four noble truths).

(Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. II, pp. 290. foll.)

The Buddha was also for some time in Uttarakuru. Having begged alms there, he took the food (he had received) to the Anotatta lake; there he took his meal and rested during the heat of the day at the same place. (Vinaya Texts, Vol. I, 124).

Sometime before the 4th century B.C., the monarchical constitution of Kuruland gave place to a republic. We are told by Kautilya that the corporation of the Kurus lived by the title of rājā (Shamshāstrī's translation of the Arthaśāstra, p. 455).

The Kurus appear to have played some part in Indian politics as late as the 9th century A.D. When Dharmapāla installed Cakrāyudha

Constitution in the
time of Kautilya.

The Kurus in the 9th
century A.D.

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on the throne of Kanauj, he did so with the consent of the neighbouring powers amongst whom the Kurus are specifically mentioned. (Smith, Early History of India, p. 398).

CHAPTER II

THE PAÑCĀLAS

The Pañcālas in the early Vedic period—their connection with the Krivis and Vairkarpas.

The Pañcālas with the Kurus are most intimately connected with the Vedic civilisation of the Brāhmaṇa period. In the earlier or Ṛg-vedic period they appear to have been known under a different name. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa tells us that the Pañcālas were called Krivis in ancient times. (XIII. 5, 4, 7). In enumerating the ancient monarchs who had performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice, a king Kraivya Pāñcāla is mentioned, and it is definitely stated that Krivi was the ancient name of the Pañcālas. Thus the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says, “Those same first two days, and an Aptoryāma Atirātra,—it was therewith that Kraivya, the Pāñcāla king, once performed sacrifice,—for Krivis they formerly called the Pañcālas: it is of this that the gāthā sings,—‘At Parivakrā, the Pāñcāla overlord of the Krivis seized a horse, meet for sacrifice, with offering-gifts of a hundred thousand (head of cattle).’ And a second gāthā,—‘A thousand myriads there were, and five-and-twenty hundreds, which the Brāhmaṇas of the Pañcālas from every quarter divided between them.’” Krivi appears as a tribal name in the Ṛgveda (*Yābhirdaśasyathā Krivim*, Ṛgveda, VIII. 20. 24; *Yābhiḥ Krivim vāvṛdhuḥ*, Ṛgveda, VIII. 22. 12). Zimmer thinks that the Krivis resided in the region near the Sindhu and the Asiknī in the Punjab, and the authors of the Vedic Index also express the same view. They say, “The Krivis appear in the Ṛgveda as settled on

the Sindhu and the Asiknī" (Vedic Index, I. 198). But the only piece of evidence in favour of this hypothesis is that Krivi is mentioned in a verse of a hymn of the Ṛgveda in which those rivers occur in a subsequent verse. But the Ṛgveda does not clearly testify to any connection between the rivers and the people.

Another conjecture, which is more far-fetched, has been made by Zimmer that the Pañcālas with the Kurus made up the Vaikarna people (Altindisches Leben, 103), and the Vedic Index lends its support to this theory (Vedic Index, I. 198). But the only evidence in favour of this view is that the word Vaikarna appears in the dual (Vaikarnayoḥ, Ṛgveda, VII. 18. 11) in a verse of the Ṛgveda, and the Kuru-Pañcālas appear combined as a dual people in the Brāhmaṇa literature. We are hardly justified, however, in reading any connection between these two facts and, moreover, it is doubtful whether 'Vaikarnayoḥ' in the Ṛgveda passage referred to, is a tribal name at all. Wilson following Sāyaṇa translates 'Vaikarnayoḥ' by 'on the two banks (of the Paruṣṇī)'—(Wilson, Ṛgveda, Vol. IV, p. 59). This meaning agrees very well with the context and, as the subject-matter of the hymn is the crossing of the Paruṣṇī by King Sudās, it is probably correct.

In the later Vedic Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇa literature, the Pañcālas are frequently referred to and often combined with the Kurus. The Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā (XXX. 2) speaks of the Pañcālas as being the Vamśa or people of Keśin Dāl̥bhya and that, as a result of certain rites performed by him, they were divided into three parts. The same Saṃhitā (X. 6) refers to the celebra-

Pañcālas in the later
Vedic period.

tion of the Naimiśīya sacrifice in the country of the Kuru-Pañcālas. Here a discussion between Vaka-Dāl̥bhya and Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya is narrated, but there is nothing to justify Weber's conjecture of a quarrel between the Pañcālas and the Kurus. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Pañcālas are mentioned along with the Kurus as one of the peoples in the *Madhyamā dik* or the midland. Thus it says in connection with the mahābhiṣeka of Indra, "Therefore in this firm middle established quarter, whatever kings there are of the Kuru-Pañcālas with the Vaśas and Uśīnaras, they are anointed for kingship." Similarly the Kuru-Pañcālas are mentioned in the Kāṇva recension of the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā (XI. 3.3.) In the Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, the Kuru-Pañcālas are mentioned many times, and in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 2. 9), the Kuru-Pañcālas are mentioned as a dual group beside similar other groups like the Aṅga-Magadhas, Kāśī-Kośalas, Śālva-Matsyas, etc. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa assures us that "speech sounds higher here among the Kuru-Pañcālas" (S. B. E., Vol. XXVI. p. 50), and it also informs us that the kings of the Kuru-Pañcālas performed the rājasūya or the royal sacrifice. Thus it says, "Now as to this, the Kuru-Pañcālas used formerly to say, 'It is the seasons that, being yoked, draw us, and we follow the seasons thus yoked?' It was because their kings were performers of the rājasūya that they spoke thus." The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (I. 8, 4, 1. 2.) says that the kings of the Kuru-Pañcālas marched forth on raids in the dewy season and returned in the hot season (Vedic Index, I. 165). The Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad (IV. 1) also speaks of the Kuru-Pañcālas and in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad they are repeatedly mentioned.

We learn from the latter Upaniṣad (III. 1. 1) that the Brāhmaṇas of the Kurus and the Pañcālas flocked to the court of Janaka, king of the Videhas. A Vedic teacher by name Pañcāla-Canḍa is mentioned in the Aitareya and the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyakas, (Vedic Index, I. 469), and most probably this sage belongs to the Pañcāla country as his name suggests.

The Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (VI. 1. 1.) and the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (V. 3. 1.) narrate how Śvetaketu Āruṇeya went to the assembly (pariṣad) of the Pañcālas where the Kṣatriya, Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, put to him several questions which neither Śvetaketu nor his father was able to answer. The Upaniṣad assures us that Śvetaketu's father, though a Brāhmaṇa, was glad to acquire the knowledge of the subject-matter of these questions from Pravāhaṇa Jaivali though the latter was a Rājanya or Kṣatriya. This Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, we are told by the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, once held a discussion on the Udgītha or the mystic syllable. Thus it says, "There were once three men, well-versed in Udgītha, Śilaka Śālāvatya, Caikitāyana Dālbhya and Pravāhaṇa Jaivali." They said, "We are well-versed in Udgītha. Let us have a discussion on Udgītha." They all agreed and sat down. Then Pravāhaṇa Jaivali said, "Sirs, do you both speak first, for I wish to hear what two Brāhmaṇas have to say." (Chāndogya Upaniṣad, I. 8. 1-2). We are told that in this discussion Pravāhaṇa Jaivali came out triumphant and silenced the Brāhmaṇas.

Of the Pañcāla kings several are mentioned in the Vedic literature. We have already referred above to King Pravāhaṇa Jaivali who

Pañcāla kings in the
Vedic literature.

could hold his own in metaphysical discussions with the Brahmins themselves. Moreover, we have spoken of King Kraivya Pāñcāla who performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice most probably in very ancient times when the Pāñcālas still bore the designation of Krivi. Another great and powerful king of the Pāñcālas is Durmukha who, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, made extensive conquests in every direction. Thus this Brāhmaṇa says, "This great anointing of Indra Brhaduktha the seer proclaimed to Durmukha, the Pāñcāla. Therefore Durmukha Pāñcāla, being a king, by this knowledge went round the earth completely, conquering on every side." (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 23. Tr. Keith, Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas, p. 338). Another powerful Pāñcāla king who performed the horse sacrifice is Sona Sātrāsāha about whom several gāthās are quoted in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Thus it goes on, "With the Trayastrimśa-stoma Sona Sātrāsāha, the Pāñcāla king, performed sacrifice: it is of this that the gāthā sings,—'When Sātrāsāha performs the horse-sacrifice, the Trayastrimśa (stomas) come forth as (Taurvaśa) horses and six thousand mail-clad men.' And a second gāthā—'At the sacrifice of thee, Koka's father, the Trayastrimśa (stomas) come forth, each as six times six thousand (horses), and six thousand mail-clad men.' And a third,—'When Sātrāsāha, the Pāñcāla king, was sacrificing, wearing beautiful garlands, Indra revelled in Soma, and the Brāhmaṇas became satiated with wealth.'" (S.B.E. Vol. XLIV. p. 400).

The name Pāñcāla has given rise to much speculation,

Traditional derivation
of the name Pāñcāla.

it being supposed that the first part of
the name, *Pañca*, has something to do

with five tribes that have been merged together into a united nation. Though the evidence in favour of it, is not very clear yet some of the theories propounded are, no doubt, plausible. It has been suggested that the five peoples are the five tribes of the Ṛgveda, but as the Vedic Index (I. 469) points out, the suggestion is not very probable. We can be only certain about the Krivis being an essential element of the Pañcāla people on the authority of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.

The problem of the origin of the name Pañcāla and its probable connection with the number *Pañca* or five, had also struck the authors of the Purāṇas, as it has done in the case of modern scholars. Many of them have traced the name to five princes whose names are, however, differently stated in different works. In the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, 9th Skandha, Ch. 21, King Bharmāśwa, born in the family of Duṣmanta, had five sons, Mudgala, Yabīnara, Vṛhadviśa, Kāmpilla and Sañjaya. As these five sons were capable of guarding the five countries, they were named Pañcāla.

In the Viṣṇupurāṇa, 19th Chap. 4th Aṅka, we are told that Haryaśva, born in the family of Kuru, had five sons, Mudgala, Sriñjaya, Vṛhadiṣu, Pravīra and Kāmpīlya. He was under the impression that his five sons were competent to protect five provinces. As Haryaśva said so, his sons became famous as Pañcālas.

Rikṣa, born in the family of Dvimīḍha, had five sons, Mudgala, Sriñjaya, Vṛhadiṣu, Yaviyāna and Kāmpīlya. The provinces of the five sons became afterwards famous as Pañcāla. *Pañca* = five sons ; *alaṁ* = samartha i.e. capability. (Vāyupurāṇa, Chap. 99.)

In the Agnipurāṇa Ch. 278, we read that Vāhyāśva born in the family of Kuru, had five sons, Mukula, Srin̄jaya, Vrihad-iṣu, Yavīnara and Krimila—these became famous as Pañcālas.

In the Samhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa there is a reference to the Prācyā Pañcālas. (Vedic Divisions of the Pañcāla country. Index, I., p. 469). In the Epic, the Pañcāla country is divided into two divisions, the northern and the southern but in the Vedic literature, there is no mention of it. So that evidently the Pañcālas had spread and added to their country by conquest since the Vedic period, and then divided it into two parts. About the foundation of Uttara-Pañcāla there is a Jātaka story which seems to show that a Cedi prince went to the north and, with colonists from the Pañcāla and Cedi countries, he formed the Uttara-Pañcāla kingdom. The Cetiya Jātaka tells us that the king of Ceti hated a sage and told a lie. He entered Avīci in consequence. He had five sons. Kapila, the family priest, said to the fourth prince, "You leave by the north gate and go straight on till you see a wheel-frame all made of jewels : that will be a sign that you are to lay out a city there and dwell in it, and it shall be called Uttara-Pañcāla" (Cowell, Jātaka, III. p. 275). The Mahābhārata gives a different story of the division of the Pañcāla country. In the Ādiparva we read that the Brahmin Droṇa and Prince Drupada had been friends in their boyhood. But their friendship changed into enmity in their manhood when Drupada, on being raised to the throne, treated with contempt, his whilom friend, the poor Brahmin's son. Droṇa bent upon taking revenge, taught the science of war to the youths of the rival clan of the Kurus and, when their education

was finished, he, one day, assembled all his pupils together, and asked for his fee (dakṣinā) from them all saying, "Seize the king of Pañcāla, Drupada, in battle and bring him to me. That will be the most acceptable dakṣinā to me." A great battle ensued. The Pañcālas were defeated and their capital was attacked. Drupada was seized and was offered to Droṇa as dakṣinā by his disciples. Droṇa asked Drupada whether he would desire to revive old friendship, and told him that he would grant him, as a boon, half of his kingdom. Drupada accepted the offer. Droṇa took the northern half of the kingdom which came to be known as Uttara-Pañcāla: while Drupada ruled over the remaining half of his kingdom known as Southern Pañcāla. The country extending from the river Bhāgirathī to the river Carmanvatī in the south with its capital at Kāmpilya, fell to the share of Drupada, and the northern half with its capital at Ahicchatra was taken over by Droṇa. (Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Ch. 140).

The plain of the Kurus, the (country of the) Matsyas, Pañcālas and Sūrasenakas—these, according to Manu, form the country of the Brahmarṣis (Brahmanical sages, which ranks) immediately after Brahmāvarta. (Laws of Manu by Bühler, S. B. E., p. 32, Chap. II. 19). The great kingdom of Pañcāla extended from the Himalaya mountains to the Chambal river (Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p. 360). We have already seen that it was divided into two kingdoms—(1) North Pañcāla, districts of the United Provinces lying east of the Ganges and north-west of Oudh; and (2) South Pañcāla, the country between the Jumna and the

Location of Pañcāla.

Ganges to the east and south-east of the Kurus and Śūrasenas (Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 167).

One of the earliest cities of Pañcāla was Paricakrā or Parivakrā where King Kraivya Pañcāla performed his horse sacrifice. It is, as we have already shown, mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Another city, Kāmpīla, appears to have been mentioned in the Yajurveda Samhitā where “the epithet Kāmpīla-vāsini is applied to a woman, perhaps the king’s mahiṣī or chief wife, whose duty it was to sleep beside the slaughtered animal at the horse sacrifice (Aśvamedha). The exact interpretation of the passage is very uncertain, but both Weber and Zimmer agree in regarding Kāmpīla as the name of the town known as Kāmpīlya in the later literature, and the capital of Pañcāla in Madhyadeśa.” (Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 149). The Viṣṇupurāṇa (Ch. II) and the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (Chap. 22) say that Kāmpīlya, son of King Haryaśva, was celebrated as Pañcāla. Among the hundred sons of Nīpa of the Ajamīḍa dynasty, Samara is mentioned as the king of Kāmpīlya (Viṣṇupurāṇa, IV. 19). We have seen that Kāmpīlya became the capital of King Drupada when he was invested with the sovereignty of the southern Pañcāla country according to the Mahābhārata. In the Ādikāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (Svarga, 33) we are told that King Brahmadaṭṭa used to live in the city of Kāmpīlya.

Cunningham identifies Kāmpīlya with Kampil, on the old Ganges between Budaon and Farokhabad (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 360; Uvāsagadasāo, Vol. II. p. 106).

It was situated at a distance of twenty-eight miles north-east of Fatgarh in the Farokhabad district. It was the *svayambāra* scene of Drupada's daughter, Kriṣṇā or Draupadī, who became the wife of the five sons of Pāṇḍu. Drupada's palace is pointed out as the most easterly of the isolated mounds on the bank of the Bur-Gaṅgā. (N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 33).

Ahicchatra where, as we have seen, Droṇa established his capital when he wrested with the help of the Kurus, the northern half of the Pañcāla country from Drupada, was another notable town of the Pañcālas. When the Kuru army was marshalled on the field, it is stated that their rear extended as far as the city of Ahicchatra (*Mahābhārata*, V. Ch. 19) so that northern Pañcāla was contiguous to the Kuru-land, and not very far from the field of Kurukṣetra. The history of Ahicchatra reaches back, according to Cunningham, to 1430 B.C. The name is written Ahi-kshetra, as well as Ahi-chhatra, but the local legend of the Ādi-Rājā and the Nāga, who formed a canopy over his head when asleep, shows that the latter is the correct form. The meaning of the name Ahicchatra is 'Serpent Umbrella.' This grand old fort is said to have been built by Rājā, Ādi, an Ahir, whose future elevation to sovereignty was foretold by Droṇa, when he found him sleeping under the guardianship of a serpent with expanded hood. The fort is also called Ādikot, but the more common name is Ahicchatr (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 360). The form of the name in Ptolemy by a slight alteration becomes Adisadra which has been satisfactorily identified with Ahicchatra. (McCrindle, *Ancient*

Ahicchatra, the
capital of North
Pañcāla.

India as described by Ptolemy, p. 133). The name of the city, it appears, was afterwards extended to the whole of the country of Uttara-Pañcāla, for, we find Yuan Chwang in the seventh century giving a description of the country of Ahicchatra. He observes that it was about 3000 li in circuit. It was naturally strong, being flanked by mountain crags. It produced wheat, and there were many woods and fountains. The climate was agreeable and the people were sincere and truthful. They loved religion, and applied themselves to learning. They were clever and well-informed. There were about ten saṃghārāmas and some 1,000 priests who studied the Little Vehicle. There were some nine deva temples with 300 sectaries. They sacrificed to Ísvara and belonged to the company of "ashes-sprinklers." Outside the chief town was a Nāga tank by the side of which was a stūpa built by King Aśoka. It was here that the Tathāgata, when in the world, preached the law for the sake of a Nāga-rāja for seven days. By the side of it were four little stūpas. (Beal's Records of the W. W., Vol. I, pp. 200-201). According to V. A. Smith, Ahicchatra City is the modern Rāmnagar in the Bareilly district. It was still a considerable town when visited by Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century (Smith, Early History, p. 377). In modern times, it was first visited by Capt. Hodgson who describes it as the ruins of an ancient fortress several miles in circumference, which appears to have had 34 bastions, and is known in the neighbourhood by the name of the Pāṇḍu's fort. (McCrindle, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, p. 134).

In the kingdom of Pañcāla there also existed the city

of Kānyakubja (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV., p. 246).

Mr. R. D. Banerjee relying on the authority of a copper plate discovered at Khālimpura, points out that the kings of the Bhojas, Matsyas, Kurus, Yadus and Yavanas were forced to acknowledge Cakrāyudha as the king of Kānyakubja (Vāṅgālār Itihāsa, pt. I., pp. 167-8).

Kanauj, mediaeval
capital of Pañcāla.

Many are the stories told about the Pañcālās and their dealings with the Kurus. In the Ādiparva we read that there was a king named Saṁbarāṇa, father of Kuru, of the Pūru dynasty, who was the ruler of the world. At one time his kingdom was very much afflicted. There was a heavy loss of his subjects and disorder prevailed everywhere. His kingdom was afterwards conquered by the king of Pañcāla, and he fled with his wife and children to a forest on the banks of the river Sindhu. (Ch. 94, p. 104).

Pañcāla in the
Mahābhārata.

In the same section of the Great Epic we read that after the piercing of the aim in connection with the *svayamvara* of Draupadī, Drupada, king of Pañcāla, devised a plan to ascertain the caste and profession of Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers. The king of Pañcāla presented them with wreaths, armours, skin seats, cows, ropes, seeds and other articles used by peasants, scimitar, horse, chariot, bow, arrow, sword,.... and various clothes. The best among men, Yudhiṣṭhira, and his brothers neglected all the riches but their attention was drawn by the articles of war. The king noticed this, talked about it with his Queen Mādri and his sons, and ascertained that they were sons of a Kṣatriya king. (Ch. 94, pp. 181-182). In connection with the expedition resulting in

the victory of Bhīmasena, we notice that Bhīmasena went to the east, attacked the Pañcāla country and by various means brought it under his sway. (Sabhāparva, Ch. 29, p. 241). At the outset of his expedition, Karna also attacked Pañcāla, as is evident from the Vanaparva, where we read that mighty Karna with a large army besieged the Pañcāla country of King Drupada, defeated him in a battle, and exacted tribute from him and his subordinate kings. (Mahābhārata, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., Vanaparva, Ch. 253, p. 513).

In the Virāṭaparva we read that when the Pāṇḍavas were living in exile in the Matsya country, their purohita, Dhaumya, and other beloved officers were sent to the palace of Drupada in the city of Pañcāla (4th Chap. p. 570).

During the Kurukṣetra war, Drupada, king of the Pañcālas, helped the Pāṇḍavas with his son, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, and his akṣauhiṇī army (Udyogaparva, Chaps. 156-157, pp. 777-778); and Dhṛṣṭadyumna was made the commander-in-chief of the entire Pāṇḍava force. Various kinds of horses were used by the famous heroes of Pañcāla during the war. From the Droṇaparva we learn that Dhṛṣṭadyumna rode a pigeon-coloured, swift horse bedecked with gold; Kṣatravarmā started with a brave, temperate, hemp-coloured horse; Kṣatradeva mounted a horse having the eyes like mallikā flowers; divine horses presented by Tumburu, carried Śikhaṇḍī; Janamejaya, the best of the Pañcālas, rode a horse having the colour of mustard flower. Drupada's horse was of pea colour, decorated with golden garlands, and having white face and back. (Droṇaparva, Ch. 22, pp. 1012-1013.). Śikhaṇḍī, son of Drupada, fought valiantly, and the Epic gives an account of his birth

which is manifestly legendary. (Udyogaparva, Chs. 172-194, pp. 791-806). In the Udyogaparva we read that Yudhāmanyu and Uttamauijā, two other princes of Pañcāla, went to the battle-field (Ch. 198, pp. 807-808). In the Bhīṣmaparva we read that Dhṛṣṭadyumna, the son of Drupada Pañcāla, guarded the sons of Draupadī in the Kurukṣetra war; behind him Arjuna guarded Śikhaṇḍī and behind Arjuna, Yuyudhāna together with the two princes of Pañcāla, Yudhāmanyu and Uttamauija, were engaged in protecting the cakra of Arjuna (Ch. 19. p. 830). In the Droṇaparva we read that Droṇa killed the great archers of the Pañcāla army and it was also he who killed Drupada. Yudhāmanyu and Uttamauija, the two Pañcāla princes, were killed by the army of Dhṛṣṭarāṣṭra. Mitravarmā and Kṣatradharmā, the Pañcāla heroes, were killed by Droṇa, and Kṣatradeva, son of Śikhaṇḍī, was killed by Lakṣmaṇa, son of Duryodhana (Karnaparva, Ch. 6, p. 1169).

Pañcāla continued to be one of the great and powerful countries in northern India, down to the time when the Buddha lived. The *Pañcāla in Buddhist literature.* *Anguttara Nikāya* (P. T. S.) mentions it as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas of Jambudīpa. It had abundance of the seven kinds of gems, etc. (Vol. I, 213; IV. 252, 256, 260).

It had a large army consisting of foot-soldiers, men skilful in fight and in the use of steel weapons (Cowell, *Jātaka*, VI, p. 202).

We read in the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* that in the kingdom of Uttara-Pañcāla, in the city of Kampilla, there was a king named Dummukha. *Story of Dummukha, king of Pañcāla* One day he saw a bull setting upon a cow in lust and

being killed by another bull through the jealousy of lust. The king realising that lust was at the root of all sorrow, abandoned lust, attained spiritual insight and reached the wisdom of Paccekabuddhahood (Cowell, *Jātaka*, Vol. III, p. 230). We have seen that *Durmukha* was the name of one of the powerful Pañcāla sovereigns in the Vedic period. A Pañcāla monarch of the same name is also mentioned in the Jaina works, as we shall show below.

In the *Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka*, we read that during the reign of Pañcāla, king of Kampilla, the people were so much oppressed by taxation that they took their wives and families and wandered in the forest like wild beasts. By day they were plundered by the king's men and by night by robbers. (Cowell, *Jātaka*, Vol. V. p. 54).

The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* narrates that once while the Buddha was staying at Vesālī, Visākha of the Pañcālas was in the meeting-hall, instructing, inciting, enlightening and inspiring the brethren with pious discourse, with urbane speech, well articulated, without hoarseness, expounding the meaning, relevant, and unworldly. The Buddha went to the hall and sat on the prepared seat. So seated, he addressed the brethren thus, "Who was it, brethren, that was in the meeting-hall, instructing, inciting, enlightening and inspiring the brethren with pious discourse, in urbane speech, well articulated, without hoarseness, expounding the meaning, relevant and unworldly." The answer was that it was Visākha of the Pañcālas. The Buddha said to Visākha thus, "Well done, well done, Visākha." (The *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, II, p. 190.). Visākha was

Story of Visākha.

the son of the daughter of the king of the Pañcālas. He became afterwards known as the Pañcālī's son. After the death of his father, he succeeded to his title, but when the Master came to his neighbourhood, he went to hear him and believed and left the world. Following him to Sāvattthī, he attained insight and acquired sixfold abhiññā. He then visited his native place out of kindness to his own folk. He was once asked by the people coming to hear him, "How many qualities should a man acquire to be a preacher of the Norm?" He taught them the essential feature of such an one. (Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 152-153).

Pañcāla and its princes figure also in the Jaina literature. It is stated in the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra that the king of the Pañcālas does no fearful actions. (S. B. E., Vol. XLV., Jaina Sūtras, Pt. II., p. 60). The Jain writers also refer to Brahmadata, king of the Pañcālas, who did not act on the counsel of the saint Citra. Brahmadata enjoyed the highest pleasure and (afterwards) sank into the deepest hell (Jaina Sūtras, Pt. II, S. B. E., Vol. XLV., p. 61). Dvimukha of Pañcāla who was a Pratyekabuddha (Ibid, p. 87), is also referred to by the Jains.

We have a glimpse of the Pañcālas in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya where they are mentioned as an illustration of the Saṃgha form of government (Shāmasāstri's Translation, p. 455).

In the post-Asokan period Pañcāla was invaded by the Greeks. The Gārgi Samhitā which is dated about the second or third century after Christ, states that when the valiant Greeks after

Greek invasion of
Pañcāla.

reducing Sāketa, the Pañcāla country and Mathurā, will reach Kusumadvaja, then all provinces will be in disorder. (Max Muller, *India*, what can it teach us ? 1883, p. 298).

In the district of Bareilly in the United Provinces, many old copper coins have been discovered amongst the ruins of ancient Ahicchatra. The word 'mitra' occurs at the end of the names of the kings engraved on the coins. In many places of the United Provinces, coins of this kind are discovered every year. There are three symbols above the names of the kings. Mr. Carlyle of the Archæological Department, explains the symbols as Bodhi tree, Sivaliṅgam surrounded by snakes and stūpa covered by fungus. Such coins are found in large number in Ahicchatra, so Cunningham calls them Pañcāla-mudrā. These coins generally weigh 250 grs., the smaller ones are not less than 16 grs. (R. D. Banerjee, *Prācīna Mudrā*, pp. 106-107). Several Pañcāla coins have on the obverse Agni, with head of flames, standing between posts on railing, on the reverse, in incuse, Agimitasa ; above, three symbols (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 538). Whether Agni-mitra whose coins are found in North Pañcāla and who was, therefore, presumably king of Ahicchatra, can be identified with the Śuṅga king of that name, is uncertain (*Ibid.*, p. 520).

The method of striking the early coins was peculiar, in that the die was impressed on the metal when hot, so that a deep square incuse, which contains the device, appears on the coin. A similar incuse appears on the later double-die coins of Pañcāla, Kauśāmbī and on some coins of Mathurā. This method of striking may have been introduced from Persia, and was perhaps a derivative from the art of seal-

engraving (Brown, *Coins of India*, p. 19). Brown says that there is little foreign influence traceable in the die-struck coins, all closely connected in point of style, which issued during the first and second centuries B.C. from Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā. A number of these bear Brāhmī inscriptions and the names of ten kings, which some would identify with the old Śuṅga dynasty, have been recovered from the copper and brass coins of Pañcāla, found in abundance at Rāmnagar in Rohilkhand, the site of the ancient city, Ahicchatra. (Brown, *Coins of India*, p. 20).

In the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., the Pañcālas were a monarchical clan but became a samṅha (probably an oligarchy) in the fourth century when Kauṭilya lived. In the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya we read that the corporation of Pañcāla lived by the title of rājā¹. The change was very probably brought about in the following way. We know that the members of the royal family were often given a share in the administration of a country, and in proportion as this share would become less and less formal, would the state-organisation lose the form of absolute monarchy and approach that of an oligarchy. (Carmichael *Lectures*, 1918, p. 165).

Sir Charles Eliot points out that the kingdom of Pañcāla passed through troublous times after the death of Harśa-wardhan, but from about 840-910 A.D. under Bhoja and his son, it became the principal power in northern India, extending from Bihar to Sind. In the twelfth century, it again became important under the Gaharwar dynasty. (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. I, p. 27).

¹ *Shāmaśāstrī's Tr.* p. 455.

CHAPTER III

THE MATSYAS

The Matsyas appear to have been one of the prominent
Matsyas in the Rgvedic period. Kṣatriya tribes that made up the Vedic
Aryan people in the earliest period of their
residence in India. They are mentioned as a people in the
R̥gveda itself. A hymn in that work tells us that the Matsyas were attacked by Turvaśa, a famous king of R̥gvedic times, in order to extract from them wealth required for a sacrifice which he wanted to perform. Thus we read, "Turvaśa who was taking precedence (at solemn rites) was desirous of performing a sacrifice; for wealth the Matsyas were attacked (by him)."¹ Here we observe that even in those ancient times, the Matsyas were regarded as a wealthy people, their riches most probably consisting of cows which mainly formed the wealth in those days, and which were much in demand for the performance of lengthy and elaborate sacrifices. It is well-known that in Epic times the Matsyas were very rich in this wealth of cows for which the Trigarttas and the Kurus led predatory expeditions against them like Turvaśa of old. In the passage we have quoted above from the R̥gveda, the word 'Matsya' in the text has been taken to mean fish by some scholars. Sāyaṇa has given both the meanings and the authors of the Vedic Index² also think both possible. From the context, however,

¹ "Puroyo itturvaśo yakkharāsīdrāye Matsyāyo nīsitā apīva, śruṣṭim cakru-
bhrgava druhyavaśca sakhā sakhāyamataradviṣūḍoḥ"—R̥gveda, VII., 18 6.

² Vol. II., p. 121.

Matsya here clearly refers to the people, and the fact that they were attacked for the sake of their kine as in the Epic, places this interpretation beyond any doubt. There is, moreover, no room for doubt that kine make up the wealth here intended, inasmuch as the verse following the one we have quoted above, states clearly that Indra recovered the cows (*gavyā*) from the Tritsu plunderers,¹ just as Indra's son, Arjuna, recovered the cattle plundered by the Kurus as described in the Great Epic. From the fact that in the above R̥gvedic verse other tribes in Western India, like the Druhyus and the Bhrgus, are mentioned side by side with the Matsyas, it is evident that Matsya here is also a tribal name.

A question here arises whether the name Matsya has anything to do with totemism as suggested by Prof. Macdonell in his Vedic Mythology. He says, "There are possibly in the R̥gveda some survivals of totemism, or the belief in the descent of the human race or of individual tribes or families from animals or plants," and he refers to the Matsyas as an illustration of his statement.² But as Prof. A. Berriedale Keith points out, 'mere animal names prove little as to totemism, which is not demonstrated for any Aryan stock.'³ The myth about the birth of a king called Matsya from the womb of a fish along with Matsyagandhā Satyavatī, as related in the Mahābhārata (*Ādiparva*, Chap. 63), has no connection with the Matsya people. The Vāyu Purāṇa (Ch. 99) also refers to this King Matsya born of Uparicara

¹ Yā yoyanayatsadhamā āryasya gavyā tritsubhyo ajagan yudhā nṛin-
R̥gveda, VII., 18. 7.

² Vedic Mythology, p. 153.

³ Aitareya Āraṇyaka, (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*), p. 200. f. n. a.

Vasu and a fish. The birth of Matsya here is entirely a personal myth and has no connection with the *people* called Matsyas. Nor is there anything in the account of the Matsyas to show that the fish was an object of worship among them, or was ever regarded with any special veneration. The fish incarnation of Viṣṇu has nothing to do specifically with the Matsya people. There is, therefore, no valid reason for thinking that such Indo-Aryan tribal names as Matsya (fish), Aja (goat), and Vatsa (calf) have anything to do with totemism.

Coming down to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we find
Matsyas in the
Brāhmaṇa period. that among those great monarchs of ancient times, who acquired renown among the Vedic Aryan people for the performance of the horse sacrifice, is mentioned a Matsya king, Dhvasan Dvaitavana; thus this Brāhmaṇa says, "The sacrifice was performed by Dhvasan Dvaitavana, king of the Matsyas, where there is the lake Dvaitavana; and it is of this that the gāthā sings,—Fourteen steeds did King Dvaitavana, victorious in battle, bind for Indra Vṛtrahan, whence the lake Dvaitavana (took its name)."¹

In the Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa, the Matsyas are mentioned along with other peoples of Vedic Aryandom. Thus we read, "There was formerly Gārgya Bālāki, famous as a man of great reading; for it was said of him that he lived among the Uśīnaras with the Vaśas, among the Matsyas, the Kuru-Pañcālas, the Kāśī-Videhas."² We have made here a little

¹ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII, 5,4,9; S.B.E., Vol. XLIV., p. 398.

² Kauśītaki Upaniṣad, IV. I. Translation by Max Muller, S.B.E., Vol. I., p. 300.

change in the translation by Prof. Max Muller who made an emendation of the text that was uncalled for. As he himself notes in the original Brāhmaṇa text, the passage stands as *Savasān-matsyēṣu* for which he substitutes *Satvanmatsyēṣu*,¹ for which there is no justification. The *Vaśas* were a very well known people in Vedic times and later, and the passage should in all probability be read as *Savaśamatsyēṣu* as upheld by Dr. Keith², or it may be taken to read as is done in some Indian editions, *Samvaśanmatsyēṣu* which agrees very well with the text.

In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa the Matsyas are connected with the Śālvas, a Kṣatriya tribe in their neighbourhood and mentioned along with other well-known Kṣatriya tribes of the Vedic period, such as the Kuru-Pañcālas, Aṅga-Magadhas, Kāśī-Kośalas and Vaśa-Uśīnaras.³ The relation of the Matsyas with the Śālvas is also vouchsafed by the Mahābhārata. King Susarmā of the Trigarttas says addressing Duryodhana, "We have been defeated before more than once by the Matsyas and Śālvas" (*Matsya Śālveyakaiḥ*).⁴ Evidently the Śālvas were the neighbours of the Matsyas and their allies in the Vedic and Epic times.

In later times we find the Matsyas associated with the Cedis and the Śūrasenas. The Mahābhārata (V. 74. 16)

¹ Kauśītaki Upaniṣad, IV. I.; S. B. E., I., p. 300, footnote 3.

² J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 367.

³ "Eṣu Kurupañcālesvañgamagadheṣu Kāśīkauśalyeṣu Śālvamatsyēṣu Savasauśīnareṣūdicyeṣu" (Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, 1.2.9., Bibliotheca Indica series, Edited by Dr. R. L. Mitra, p. 30.)

⁴ "Atha rājā Trigarttānaṃ suśarmā rathayūthapaḥ, | prāptakālamidaṃ vākya-muvāca tvarito valī, || asakrinnikritāḥ pūrvam Matsyaśālveyakaiḥ prabho, | sūtenaiva ca Matsyasya Kicakena punaḥ punaḥ" || — (Mahābhārata, Virāṭaparva, 30, 1-2)

mentions among the kings who brought about the ruin of their own tribes and families, a King Sahaja who was instrumental in causing the destruction of the Cedi-Matsyas.

Matsyas in the Epics,
Purāṇas and
Manusmṛhitā.

In the Paurāṇic age the Matsyas are spoken of along with the Śūrasenas and the Cambridge History observes, "The two peoples are constantly associated, and it is possible that at this time they may have been united under one king." (p. 316). Among the peoples in Bhāratavarṣa enumerated in the Bhīṣma Parva (Ch. 9), the Cedi-Matsya-Karūṣas are put together in one group. On the field of battle also, the Cedi-Matsyas are found ranged together against Bhīṣma¹, and again we find the Cedi-Matsya-Karūṣas delivering an attack against the Kurus under the leadership of Bhīmasena², and again the Cedi-Pāṇcāla-Karūṣa-Matsyas joined the Pāṇḍavas in uttering a loud shout of joy when they were successful in inflicting a defeat on the Kuru army.³ On the tenth day of the fight, the Matsya-Pāṇcāla-Cedis delivered combined attacks against Bhīṣma.⁴ The Cedi-Karūṣa-Matsyas are found also jointly attacking Karna when the latter was the general on the Kaurava side⁵, and later we

¹ Mahābhārata, Bhīṣmaparva, Chap. 52, Śloka 9.

² Ibid, Chap. 54, Śloka, 8.

³ "Te Cedipāṇcāla-Karūṣa-Matsyāḥ pārthāśca sarve sahasā praneduḥ. Jaya-pragalbhaḥ puruṣapravīrāḥ santrāsāyantaḥ Kuruvīrayodhan (Mahābhārata, Vaṅga-vāsi Ed., 59, 129.)

⁴ Matsyapāṇcālacedinām tamekamabhidhāyatām, te narāśva-rathavrātairvāra-naiśca parantapa, tamekaṁ chādayāmāsurmeghā iva divākaram (Ibid, 118, 52-53.)

⁵ "Cedikarūṣamatsyānām Kaikeyānāṁ yatvalam, parivārya raṇe Karṇam nānāśastrairavākiran" (Mahābhārata, VIII., 30, 27, 29.)

read of Karna making immense slaughter among the Cedi-Matsyas.¹

In the Manusamhitā we read : "The plain of the Kurus, the (country of the) Matsyas, Pañcālas and Sūrasenakas, these (form) indeed, the country of the Brahmarshis (Bramanical sages which ranks) immediately after Brahmāvarta. From a Brāhmaṇa, born in that country, let all men on earth learn their several usages."² From this passage it appears that the Matsyas were regarded by the Indians as belonging to the most orthodox followers of Brahmanism in ancient times so as to form a model for other people to imitate. Manu also prescribes when laying down rules for the marshalling of troops on the battle-field that "(Men born in) Kurukṣetra, Matsyas, Pañcālas, and those born in Sūrasena, let him cause to fight in the van of the battle, as well as (others who are) tall and light."³ The Matsyas, it appears, occupied a pre-eminent position both by the purity of their conduct and customs as well as by their bravery and prowess on the field of battle.

In the Rāmāyaṇa (II. 71. 5) we read that Bharata, while going to Ayodhyā from Rājagṛha, the capital of the Kekayas, passed through an extensive forest of the Viramatsyas after crossing the Śatadru in its upper course. This forest of the Viramatsyas appears to have been situated far to the north of the Matsya country proper and apparently there was no connection between the two. In

¹ "Te Vadhyamānāḥ samare Cedimatsyā Viśāmpate, Karṇamekamabhidrutya Śarasāṅghaiḥ samārpayan, tān jaghāna śitairvānaiḥ sūtaputro mahārathaḥ" (Mahābhārata, VIII., 78, 25.)

² Manusamhitā, II., 19-20, S. B. E., Vol. XXV. pp. 32-33.

³ Ibid., VII, 193, S.B.E., Vol. XXV., p. 247.

the Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa we read that when Sugrīva sent his monkey host to search for Sītā, those under Aṅgada are said to have made their enquiries throughout the countries of the Matsyas and the Kalingas, two peoples situated at the two extremities of India, so that this Rāmāyaṇa passage also does not help us in locating the country of the Matsyas. When speaking about the country of the Śūrasenas (Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 43, 11), and the Kurus and Bharatas who were the immediate neighbours of Matsyas, Sugrīva does not refer to the Matsyas at all. The Śūrasenas dwelt to the immediate east of the Matsyas and, as we have seen during the Pauranic age, the two peoples were constantly associated. This omission to mention the Matsyas along with their neighbours, suggests that at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Matsyas were not looked upon as an important people, and perhaps they had lost the importance which they had acquired in the Vedic age. In the Purāṇas such as the Padma Purāṇa (Ch. 3), and the Vishṇudharmottara Mahāpurāṇa (Ch. 9), Matsya is mentioned as one of the janapadas of Bhāratavarṣa. A similar mention of Matsya as a janapada is made in the Mahābhārata. (VI. 9. 40).

In the Aṅguttara Nikāya, Matsya is mentioned as one of the mahājanapadas.¹ There is a reference to the Matsyas or Macchas in the Janavasabha Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya in connection with the account of the Exalted One's stay in Nāḍika. While the Buddha was dwelling there, he used to make declarations as to births of the followers of the Buddhist doctrine who had already passed away in death among the

References in the
Buddhist literature.

¹ Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. I p. 213, Vol. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260.

various tribes e.g. the Kāśīs, the Macchas, the Śūrasenas, etc.¹ In the Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka we read that the Macchas witnessed the dice-play of the king of the Kurus with the Yakkha Puṇṇaka.²

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we find mention of a king of the Matsyas called Dhvasan

Location.

Dvaitavana who appears to have given his name to a lake, Dvaitavana. In the Mahābhārata we find mention of an extensive forest named Dvaitavana where the Pāṇḍavas passed a large portion of the period of forest-dwelling imposed upon them. In the Virāṭa Parva we are told that the Pāṇḍavas went to the Matsya capital from Dvaitavana, and we also read in the Mahābhārata that this forest was situated on the Sarasvatī. Further a lake Dvaitavana (Dvaitavanam nāma Saraḥ, III. 24) is mentioned as existing in the Dvaitavana forest, and this lake appears to have been close to the Sarasvatī (III. 177). Evidently both the lake and the forest had received their name from the Matsya king, Dhvasan Dvaitavana, and evidently in early times they were included in the Matsya dominions. From the Mahābhārata account it appears that the forest was outside the Matsya country though not very far from it. We are told that the Pāṇḍavas on their way from the lake Dvaitavana to the Matsya capital, left the Daśārṇas to the south and the Pañcālas to the north, and passed through the country of the Yakṣīlomas and the Śūrasenas, telling the people that they were vyādhas or hunters (IV. 5. 4-5), and then they entered the Matsya dominion from the forest.

¹ Digha Nikāya, Vol. II., p. 200.

² Jātaka (Cowell) Vol. VI, p. 137.

Evidently the forest covered a very wide area extending up to the boundary of the Matsya country, and the Matsya capital could not have been far from the forest as shortly after coming out of the latter, they reached the capital of Virāṭa.

We have seen that according to Manu, the Matsya country formed a part of the Brahmarṣi-deśa, the country of the holy sages which, as Mr. Rapson points out, included the eastern half of the State of Patiala and of the Delhi division of the Punjab, the Alwar State and adjacent territory in Rajputana, the region which lies between the Ganges and the Jumna and the Muttra district in the United Provinces. (Rapson, *Ancient India*, pp. 50-51). In this land of the Brahmarṣis, as Cunningham shows, "In ancient times the whole of the country lying between the Arabali hills of Alwar and the river Jumna was divided between Matsya on the west and Śūrasena on the east, with Daśārṇa on the south and south-east border. Matsya then included the whole of the present Alwar territory, with portions of Jaypur and Bharatpur. Vairāṭ and Māchāri were both in Matsya-deśa; while Kāman, Mathurā and Bayāna were all in Śūrasena. To the east were the Pañcālas, who held Rohilkhand and Antarbeda, or the Gangetic Doab." (Cunningham's Report, *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. 20, p. 2).

In later times the Matsya country appears to have been known also as Virāṭa or Vairāṭa. Yuan Chwang speaks of it as Vairāṭa, and Cunningham points out on his authority that in the seventh century A.D., the kingdom of Vairāṭa was 3000 li or 500 miles in circuit. It was famous for its sheep and oxen, but produced few fruits or flowers. This is

still the case with Jaypur to the south of Vairāṭa, which furnishes most of the sheep required for the great Muhammadan cities of Delhi and Agra, and their English garrisons. Vairāṭa, therefore, may have included the greater part of the present state of Jaypur. Its precise boundaries cannot be determined; but they may be fixed approximately as extending on the north from Jhunju to Kot Kāsim, 70 miles; on the west from Jhunju to Ajmer, 120 miles; on the south from Ajmer to the junction of the Banās and Chambal, 150 miles, and on the east from the junction to Kot Kāsim, 150 miles; or altogether 490 miles (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, pp. 344-345).

We have already seen that the Pāṇḍavas entered the Matsya country from the Dvaitavana forest, and the Mahābhārata account shows that after emerging from the forest, a short journey brought them near the capital. This city is here called Virāṭanagara and this is the name generally given to it, throughout the Virāṭaparva¹ and elsewhere in the Mahābhārata. It is occasionally called Matsyanagara² and also sometimes Matsyasyanagara.³ Evidently this Virāṭanagara became afterwards known as Vairāṭ. The city was the royal seat of king Virāṭa. There was a

1. Mat prasādācca vaḥ sarvān Virāṭanagaresthitān na pragnāsyanti Kuravo narā vā tannivāsināḥ (Mahābhārata, IV., 6. 35.) Tṛpavinduprasādācca dharmassa ca mahātmanāḥ agñātavāsamevantu virāṭanagaraḥ vasan (Ibid., IV., 13. 3).

2. Evaṁ te Matsyanagare Vasantastatra Pāṇḍavāḥ ata ūrdhvaṁ mahāvīryāḥ kimakurvata vaidviḥ. (Ibid., IV. 13. 1.)

3. Vasamānesu Pārtheṣu Matsyasyanagare tadā, mahārathēṣu channeṣu māsādāsasamabhyayaḥ. (Ibid., IV. 14. 1.)

dancing house where girls took their lessons in dancing during the day (Mahābhārata Ch. XXII).

The present town of Vairāt is situated in the midst of a circular valley surrounded by low bare red hills, which have long been famous for their copper mines. It is 105 miles to the south-west of Delhi, and 41 miles to the north of Jaypur. (Cunningham, Ancient Geography, pp. 341-342). The soil is generally good, and the trees, and more especially the tamarinds, are very fine and abundant. Vairāṭa is situated on a mound of ruins, about one mile in length by half a mile in breadth, or upwards of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circuit of which the present town does not occupy more than one-fourth. The old city called Vairāṭnagara is said to have been quite deserted for several centuries until it was repeopled about 300 years ago, most probably during the long and prosperous reign of Akbar. The town was certainly in existence in Akbar's time, as it is mentioned by Abul Fazl in the 'A'in Akbari' as possessing very profitable copper mines. (Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p. 342).

The earliest historical notice of Vairāt is that of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in 634 A.D. According to him, the capital was 14 or 15 li, or just $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, in circuit, which corresponds almost exactly with the size of the ancient mound on which the present town is built. The people were brave and bold and their king, who was of the race of *Fei-she*, either a Vaiśya or a Bais Rajput, was famous for his courage and skill in war (Ibid., p. 343).

The next historical notice of Vairāt occurs during the reign of Mahmud of Ghazni, who invaded the country in A.D. 1009, when the Rājā submitted, but his submission

was of little avail, as his country was again invaded in A.D. 1014, when the Hindus were defeated after a bloody conflict. The place was taken and plundered by Amir Ali, who found an ancient stone inscription at Nārāyaṇ, which was said to record that the temple of Nārāyaṇ had been built 40,000 years previously. As this inscription is also mentioned by the contemporary historian Otbi, we may accept the fact of the discovery of a stone record in characters so ancient that the Brahmans of that day were unable to read them. Cunningham thought it highly probable that this was the famous inscription of Aśoka that was afterwards discovered by Major Burt on the top of a hill at Vairāṭ. (Ibid., pp. 343-344).

Another city in Virāṭa's kingdom was Upaplavya where according to the Mahābhārata account, the Pāṇḍavas transferred themselves from the Matsya capital, Virāṭanagara, on completion of the year of their residence *incognito* and of the thirteenth year of their banishment.¹ This became necessary as the friends of the Pāṇḍavas began to pour in accompanied by a large number of followers and huge armies. This city of Upaplavya is also mentioned in other places. It was here that Sañjaya, the Kaurava messenger, was sent by Dhṛtarāṣṭra.² Upaplavya does not appear to have been another capital of the Matsyas as asserted in the Cambridge History of India (p. 316), but only one of the towns in the Matsya country. The commentator, Nīlkaṇṭha, also ex-

¹ Tatastroyadaśe varṣe nivṛtte pañcapāṇḍavāḥ Upaplavyam Virāṭasya samāpadyanta sarvaśaḥ (Mahābhārata, IV., 72, 14.)

² Prāptānāhuḥ Sañjaya Pāṇḍuputrānupaplavye tām vijānīhi gatvā ajātaśatruṇa sabhājayethā diṣṭanagha sthānupasthitastvam (Mahābhārata, V., 22, I.)

plains that Upaplavya was the name of another city near Virāṭanagara.¹ The site of this city of Upaplavya is uncertain.

One great Matsya king of the Vedic period, Dhvasan
 Traditional history. Dvaitavana by name, has already been
 referred to. Another early Matsya king
 was Virāṭa, the friend of the Pāṇḍavas and the enemy of the
 Tṛgarttas. He had a hundred thousand kine of various
 classes (Mahābhārata, Ch. X.) The fourth book of
 the Mahābhārata refers to an attempt made by the
 Tṛgarttas to plunder the cows of Virāṭa. Virāṭa heard
 that the Tṛgarttas were taking away thousands of his
 kine. He then collected his Matsya army consisting
 of cars, elephants, horses, infantry and pennons.
 The kings and princes put on their respective invincible
 armours. Hundreds of god-like and powerful heroes, mighty
 car-warriors, adorned with weapons, put on their coats of
 mail. (M. N. Dutt, Mahābhārata, Virāṭaparva, Ch. XXXI).
 Dreadful and infuriated elephants, sixty years old with
 beautiful tusks and rent temples and temporal juice trickling
 down, appearing like clouds pouring rain, driven by trained
 and skilled heroes, followed the king like so many moving
 hills. The leading heroes of Matsya who delightedly followed
 the king, had eight thousand cars, a thousand elephants and
 sixty thousand horses. Virāṭa, the king of Matsya, was
 taken captive by the Tṛgarttas but was rescued by Bhīma,
 the second Pāṇḍava. (Ibid., Ch. XXXI).

¹ Upaplavyam Virāṭanagarasamīpasthanagarāntaram (Nilakanṭha on the Mahābhārata, IV., 72. 14.)

After the expiry of one year of living *incognito* in the kingdom of Matsya, the period of exile of the Pāṇḍu brothers was over. They then spoke out their descent. The Matsya King, Virāṭa, wanted Arjuna to marry his daughter Uttarā but Arjuna consented to accept Uttarā as his daughter-in-law. Yudhiṣṭhira gave his assent to this alliance between the Matsya king and Pārtha. The five Pāṇḍavas were given their quarters in Virāṭa's town called Upaplavya as we have shown before. The marriage between Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna, and Uttarā, daughter of Virāṭa, king of Matsya, was celebrated with great pomp. Many kings and heroes were invited. Conches, cymbals, drums, trumpets and various other musical instruments were played in the palace of Virāṭa. Various deer and animals were slain. Wines and various celestial drinks were procured and there came also many songsters, panegyrists and actors. Virāṭa gave as dowry seven thousand horses, two hundred elephants and immense wealth. (Ibid., Ch. LXXII).

Dr. Ray Chaudhuri points out that Matsya is not mentioned by Kauṭilya as a state having the *saṃgha* form of government. Therefore the probability is that the monarchical constitution lasted till the loss of its independence. It was probably annexed at one time to the neighbouring kingdom of Cedi. It was finally absorbed into the Magadhan empire. This supposition of Dr. Ray Chaudhuri seems to us to be probably correct. (Political History of Ancient India, p. 71).

Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty dethroned Indrāyudha, king of Pañcāla, whose capital was Kanauj and installed in his stead Cakrāyudha, with the assent of the neighbouring

northern powers, e.g. the Bhojas, Matsyas, Madras, Kurus, etc. (Smith's Early History of India, p. 398).

Nāgabhaṭ II, son of Vatsarāj, occupied the fort of Matsya (R.D. Banerjee, Vāṅgālār Itihāsa, p. 158). The greater part of the territory owned by the Matsya people now forms part of the Rajput state of Jaipur.

CHAPTER IV

THE ŚŪRASENAS

The Śūrasenas are not mentioned in the Vedic literature, but it will be observed that in the Mānava-dharma-Śāstra, they are spoken of in high terms as belonging to the *Brahmaṛṣi-deśa*, or the country of the great Brahmanical seers, whose conduct was to be imitated by all Aryans. Thus it goes on, "The plain of the Kurus, the (country of the) Matsyas, Pañcālas, and Śūrasenakas, these (form), indeed, the country of the Brahmaṛṣis (Brahmanical sages, which ranks) immediately after Brahmāvarta. From a Brahmāṇa, born in that country, let all men on earth learn their several usages" (Bühler, *Laws of Manu*, pp. 32-33). Here we see that the Śūrasenas at the time when Manu's Code was compiled, were one of those few tribes who occupied in Indo-Aryan society a rank next in importance to the small population of the narrow strip of Brahmāvarta alone. Therefore, they must have belonged to the Vedic people, though probably they had not acquired sufficient political importance in the very early times to find a mention in the R̥gveda or the subsequent Vedic literature. They claimed descent from Yadu, a hero whose people are referred to repeatedly in the R̥gveda (see *Vedic Index*, II, 185) and it is probable that the Śūrasenas were included among the R̥gvedic Yadus.

Manu also pays a high tribute to the martial qualities of the Śūrasenas, inasmuch as he advises a king when arrang-

ing his troops on the battle-field, to place the Śūrasenas in the very first line in the van (*Manusamhitā*, VII. 193). Evidently this people, in the time of Manu, had earned a reputation for heroism and fighting skill.

In the *Mahābhārata*, in the enumeration of the various peoples of *Bhāratavarṣa*, the Śūrasenas are mentioned along with the Śālvas, Kurupañcālas and other tribes of the neighbourhood (*Bhīṣma-parva*, Ch. 9, p. 822), and we read in the *Virāṭaparva* (Chs. I and V) that the Pāṇḍavas on their way to Virāṭanagara from the *Dvaitavana* forest, where they had sojourned during their banishment of twelve years, passed through the country of the Śūrasenas. They, therefore, must have lived in the territory close to that of the Matsyas. It is easy to locate the Śūrasenas with certainty inasmuch as their capital, Mathurā, has been a great city from the early times of Indo-Aryan history down to the present day. They occupied without doubt, as the *Cambridge History* points out, "the Muttra district and possibly some of the territory still farther south." (*Cambridge History of India, Ancient India*, p. 316). Professor Rhys Davids also says, "The Śūrasenas, whose capital was Madhurā, were immediately south-west of the Macchas, and west of the Jumna" (*Buddhist India*, p. 27). Cunningham points out that Śūrasena was the grandfather of Kṛishṇa and from him Kṛishṇa and his descendants, who held Mathurā after the death of Kāṁsa, were called the Śūrasenas. (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 374).

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we read that Sugrīva while sending out his monkey generals in search of Sītā, told those who were going towards the

The Śūrasenas in the
Epics.

north, "after searching the country of the Śūrasenas and other countries in the north, you will search the Himalaya mountain to find out Sītā." (Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa, 11-12, 43 svarga). In the Bhagavadgītā section of the Mahābhārata, the Śūrasenas are mentioned as forming part of the army of Duryodhana. Bhīṣma was guarded by them. (Bhīṣmaparva Ch. 18, p. 829). The heroic Śūrasenas though pierced by arrows did not leave Bhīṣma. (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 106, p. 974, see also Ibid, Chaps. 107-121, pp. 906-993). The Śūrasena army followed Karna with Duryodhana, and Karna went in front of the warriors holding bows and arrows. (Droṇaparva, Ch. 6, pp. 998-999). When Droṇācārya was arranging his own army against the Pāṇḍavas in a phalanx, the Śūrasenas, Madras and others were placed in the front. (Droṇaparva Ch. 19, p. 1009). In the battle of Kurukṣetra, the Śūrasena army was destroyed. (Karna-parva, Ch. 5, pp. 1167-1168). Sahadeva, while proceeding southwards in the course of his conquests before the Rājasūya sacrifice, conquered the country of Śūrasena. (Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva Chap. 31 pp. 242-243).

In the Pāli Buddhist Tripiṭaka, Śūrasena is mentioned as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas which were prosperous and had abundance of wealth. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, I., p. 213, Ibid, IV, pp. 252, 256 and 260). One of the Jātaka stories narrates how the Śūrasenas along with the Pañcālas, Matsyas and Madras, witnessed a dice-play between Dhanañjaya Korabba and Puṇṇaka Yakkha. (Cowell, Jātaka, Vol. VI, p. 137).

The capital of the Śūrasenas, as we have already pointed out, was Mathurā on the Jumna at present included in

the Agra division of the United Provinces. It was on the upper Jumna about 270 miles in Mathurā, the capital of the Śūrasenas,— a straight line north-west of Kauśāmbī.
Location.

(Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 526). In the Buddhist Pāli literature the name is Madhurā and this difference is, no doubt, due to a mere linguistic peculiarity. Rhys Davids in his Buddhist India (p. 36.) says that it is tempting to identify it with the site of the modern Mathurā in spite of the difference in spelling.

In Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar we read that the distance from Mathurā to Sāṅkassa is 4 yojanas (Book III, Chap. I, p. 157, S. C. Vidyābhūṣana's edition).

In the Lalitavistara, when the question of selecting a suitable locality for the birth of the Bodhisattva was being discussed in the Tuṣita heaven, some said, "This city of Mathurā is prosperous, wide, peaceful and full of people. Alms are easily obtainable. This is the fit place for the Bodhisattva to be born in." Against this proposal the objection was raised by other denizens of the heaven that it was not the fit place for the Bodhisattva to be born in, because in this city, the king was descended from a family of false believers and was a tyrant. (Edited by Lefmann, pp. 21-22). From the above account it is evident that at the time that the Lalitavistara was composed, that is, about the early centuries of the Christian era, Mathurā was one of the most prominent cities of India.

Shortly after Alexander's invasion the city of Mathurā was reckoned as one of the most prominent in India inasmuch as the Greek
Greek Account.

historians make mention of it. It was noticed by Arrian on the authority of Megasthenes as the capital of the Sūrasenas. Ptolemy mentions Mathurā (Cunningham's Ancient Geography, p. 374). It was surrounded by numbers of high mounds, one of those mounds looking unpromising, has since yielded numbers of statues and inscribed pillars, which prove that it represented the remains of at least two large Buddhist monasteries of as early a date as the beginning of the Christian era. (Ibid, p. 374). A famous stūpa was built in honour of Moggaliputta Tissa at Mathurā. (Cambridge History of India, Ancient India, p. 506). The city was visited by Fā-Hien in the fifth century A. D. This Chinese pilgrim before reaching Mathurā, passed through a succession of monasteries full of good many monks. (Legge, Travels of Fā-Hien, p. 42). It was also visited by Hiuen Tsang who described the country as being above 5000 li in circuit, the capital being above twenty li in circuit. The soil, according to him, was very fertile and agriculture was the chief industry : mango trees were grown in orchards at the homesteads of the people. The country produced also a fine striped cotton cloth and gold. Its climate was hot, the manners and customs of the inhabitants were good. The people believed in the working of karma and paid respect to moral and intellectual eminence. There were Buddhist monasteries, deva-temples and the professed adherents of the different non-Buddhist sects lived pell-mell. (Watters, On Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. p. 301).

The Jaina cult was practised with great devotion at Mathurā, (Smith's Early History of India, p. 301). The Jains seem to have

Importance in religious history.

been firmly established in the city from the middle of the second century B.C. It was also known at an early date *e.g.* in the time of Megasthenes (300 B.C.) as the centre of Kṛishṇa worship (Cambridge History of India, Ancient India, p. 167). It was undoubtedly a sacred city which was a stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism and Jainism (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 526) but in the Śaka-Kushān period, it had ceased to be the strong-hold of Bhāgavatism. (H. C. Ray Chaudhury, Early History of the Vaishṇava sect, p. 99). It was the birth place of the hero Kṛishṇa (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 316). To the Hindus its sanctity was, and still is, very great. It was and still is one of the seven holy places of Hinduism (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 531). Dr. Ray Chaudhuri points out that the unanimity of Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist tradition seems to indicate that Vāsudeva was really a scion of the royal family (Yādava, Vṛṣṇi or Sātvata) of Mathurā (Upper Mathurā according to the Ghata Jātaka). It was in Mathurā that the Bhāgavata religion, the parent of modern Vaiṣṇavism, arose. Under the Kushāns it was an important religious centre of the Jainas. (Rapson, Ancient India, p. 174).

In the Great Epic, Mathurā is mentioned as the birth-place of Vāsudeva, who, says Dr. Hopkins, seems to have herded his cattle there ; while in the Mahābhāṣya it is bahu-Kurucarā Mathurā and the chief city of the Pañcālas. (Hopkin's The Great Epic of India, p. 395 n. 1).

Buddhism was predominant in Mathurā for several centuries. It no doubt forbade the animal sacrifices of the Brahmins and favoured milder rites. (Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. II, p. 159).

Buddhism in Mathurā.

In the Pāli commentary of the *Vimānavatthu*, it is narrated that a woman of Uttara-Madhurā offered alms to the Buddha when he came to her and, in consequence of this merit, she, after death, was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven. (*Vimānavatthu Commentary*, pp. 118-119).

A king of Madhurā named Avantiputto went to Mahākaccāna and told him that the Brāhmaṇas were of opinion that they were of the highest caste and the others were of inferior caste, that the Brahmins were white and the others were dark, that they would be purified while the others would not, that they were the sons of Brahmā born out of his mouth, created by Brahmā and they were the heirs to Brahmā. He also asked him about his opinion on the subject. Mahākaccāna replied, "It is nothing but an empty declaration." (*Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 83 foll).

Buddha frequented the locality and it is recorded that one day while he was proceeding from Mathurā to Verañji, he took shelter under a tree and many male and female householders saw him and worshipped him. (*Āṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. II, p. 57).

The *Purāṇas* furnish some detailed account of Mathurā.

Legendary Account. In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* we read that Lavana, son of the monster Madhu, was killed by Śatrughna of great strength, and it was Śatrughna who founded the city which he named Mathurā. (4th *Amśa*, Chap. 4). The demons attacked Mathurā, the home of the Vriṣṇis and Andhakas. (*Brahmapurāṇa*, 14 Chap. 54 *Śloka*). The Vriṣṇis and Andhakas being afraid of the demons, left Mathurā and established their capital at Dvārāvati (*Harivamśa*,

Chap. 37). Mathurā was also besieged by Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, with a huge army of twenty-three akṣauhiṇīs. (Ibid, Chap. 195, Śloka 3). At the time of his great departure, Yudhiṣṭhira installed Vajranābha on the throne of the city. (Skandapurāṇa, Viṣṇukhaṇḍa; Bhāgavata Māhātmya, Ch. I).

The earlier rulers of Mathurā find a place in the Purāṇas, but only in the general summary of those dynasties which were contemporary with the Pūrus. (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 526). In the Vāyupurāṇa, twenty-three Śūrasena kings are mentioned as contemporaries of the future kings of Magadha. (Ch. 99). Suvāhu, a heretic, is said to have been a great king of Jambudīpa, the capital city of which was Mathurā. (Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, p. 29).

In the Lalitavistara, we read that Suvāhu was the king of the Śūrasenas who had his capital at Mathurā. (Edited by Lefmann, p. 21-22). The king of the Śūrasenas, at Madhurā, in the Buddha's time, was called Avantiputto; and was, therefore, almost certainly the son of a princess of Avanti. (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 185).

On the eve of the rise of the Gupta power, seven nāga kings reigned in Mathurā (Vāyupurāṇa, 99). They were followed by Magadha kings (Viṣṇupurāṇa, 4th Amśa, Chap. 23).

Mathurā is also mentioned in the earliest chronicle of Ceylon, the Dīpavaṃsa, where we are told that sons and grandsons of Prince Sādhina reigned over the great kingdom of Madhurā, the best of towns. (Oldenberg, Dīpavaṃsa, p. 27).

In the Ghata Jātaka we read that in Upper Madhurā, there reigned a king named Mahāsāgara who had two sons, Sāgara and Upasāgara. On his death the eldest son became king and the youngest, the viceroy. Upasāgara quarrelled with Sāgara and came to Uttarāpatha in the Kāmśa district, in the city of Asitañjana, ruled over by a king named Mahākāmśa, who had two sons, Kāmśa and Upakāmśa and one daughter Devagabbhā. It was foretold that this daughter would bear a child who would kill his maternal uncles. Believing this prediction, on the death of King Mahākāmśa, the two brothers kept their sister, Devagabbhā, unmarried in a separate round-tower specially built for her. Upasāgara heard of her and fell in love with her. She, too, one day, saw Upasāgara walking along the street with her brother and fell in love with him. One day with the help of Nandagopā, the serving woman, a tryst was arranged. One night Upasāgara was brought up into the tower and at that night Devagabbhā conceived. When she became big with child, her brothers heard of everything from Nandagopā and gave her in marriage to Upasāgara. In due course a daughter was born to her. The two brothers were pleased and they allotted to their sister and brother-in-law a village named Govaddhamāna for their estate. Upasāgara and Devagabbhā with their daughter lived there and in course of time, Devagabbhā gave birth to ten sons, and her serving woman Nandagopā, to ten daughters. Devagabbhā exchanged her ten sons for the ten daughters of her maid and, at the time of the birth of each son, she declared that she had a daughter. In this way the birth of the ten sons was kept secret. Gradually when the boys grew old, they

became plunderers and their fosterfather, Andhaka-Veṇhu, was often rebuked by King Kāṁsa. At last Andhaka-Veṇhu told the king the secret of the birth of the ten sons. An arena was prepared for a wrestling match in the city. When the ten sons entered the ring and were about to be caught, the eldest of the ten, Vāśudeva, threw a wheel which cut off the heads of Kāṁsa and Upakāṁsa, and himself assumed the sovereignty of the city of Asitañjana. (Jātaka, Cowell, Vol. IV, pp. 50-52). Here ends the Jātaka story with the accession of Vāśudeva to the throne of Mathurā; and the Petavatthu commentary opens with the adventure of the ten sons. In it we read that ten sons and a daughter were born to the king of Uttaramadhurā, and Aṅkura was the youngest of them. The ten princes conquered the whole country beginning from their father's capital called Asitañjana up to Dvārāvātī and divided it among themselves. At the time of partition they forgot Añjanadevī, their sister, but afterwards when they saw that they had left no share for her, Aṅkura gave away his own portion, and said that he would live upon money contributed by all the brothers. He engaged himself in trade, and always made large gifts. One of his slaves, however, whom he made his steward, was a greedy fellow. Aṅkura got him married to a girl but he died when his wife was pregnant. When a child was born, Aṅkura paid him the salary that he used to pay to his father, and when the boy grew up, the question arose whether he was a slave or not. Añjanadevī argued that since the mother was free, her child also must be free, and he was freed from slavery. The boy went to the city of Bheruva

and became a tailor. In that city there lived a rich merchant named Asayha who was very charitable. The young tailor could not himself practise charity but he used to point out the house of Asayha to those who did not know it. After death, this posthumous son of Aṅkura's steward was reborn as a tree-god living on a nigrodha tree. Once Aṅkura and a Brahmin merchant were passing through a desert, each with five hundred cartloads of merchandise. Having lost their way, they wandered about here and there for many days in that arid region. All their stock of food, drink and fodder became exhausted, and Aṅkura sent servants in all directions to look for water. The deity of the Nigrodha tree helped him in many ways. Aṅkura was gradually thoroughly convinced of the virtue of making gifts, and promised that on reaching his own city of Dvārakā, he would be more liberal than ever, and practise charity on a large scale. On reaching Dvārakā, he sought to remove the wants of every person he met. His Charge d' affaires, Sindhuka, a man versed in matters of finance, tried to restrain him from making such gifts indiscriminately but Aṅkura was not to be dissuaded. Then many people began to live upon his charities, and lead idle lives without doing any work, and the king could not get revenue. Aṅkura was told that if things went this way, his treasuries would be depleted. Aṅkura, therefore, went to the southern regions in the Damila country and practised charity there. After death he was reborn in the Tāvātimsa Heaven. (Petavatthu Commentary, 111 foll.; see my Buddhist Conception of Spirits, pp. 80-84).

A king of Mathurā named Brahmamitra was probably

contemporary with King Indramitra of Ahicchatra for both names are found in the dedicatory inscriptions of queens on pillars of the railing at Buddhagayā which is assigned by Archaeologists to the earlier part of the first century B.C. (Cambridge History of India, Ancient India, p. 526). Menander, king of Kabul and the Punjab, occupied Mathurā on the Jumna (Smith, Early History of India, p. 199).

Mr. Rapson (Ancient India, p. 174) points out that Mathurā was governed by native princes whose names can be found out from their coins in the second century B.C. The Hindu kings of Mathurā were finally replaced by Hagāna, Hagāmāsha, Rājuvula, and other Śaka Satraps who probably flourished in or about the first century A.D. (Smith, Early History of India, p. 227). In the second century A.D. Mathurā was under the sway of Huvishka, the Kushān king (Smith, Early History of India, p. 271). This is evidenced by a splendid Buddhist monastery which, bearing his name, seems undoubtedly to owe its existence to his munificence (Smith, Early History of India, p. 271).

Many coins of Menander have been discovered at Mathurā (R. D. Banerjee, *Prācīna Mudrā*, p. 50). Mr. Brown says that cast-coins were issued at the close of the third century by the kingdoms of Mathurā, Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī, some of which bear the names of local kings in the Brāhmī script. (Coins of India, p. 19). In the ruins of Mathurā, many ancient copper coins along with many coins of the Greek and Śaka rulers were discovered. (*Prācīna Mudrā*, p. 105). Brāhmī characters have been used on these coins (*Ibid.*, p. 106).

Authentic history.

Coins.

Among the coins discovered in this region those of the Aryunāyaṇas are of special interest. (Cunningham, *Coins of India*, pp. 89-90; see also R. D. Banerjee's *Prācīna Mudrā*, p. 109).

Inscriptions show that in the first century B.C., the region of Mathurā had passed from native Indian to foreign (Śaka) rule and the epigraphic evidence is confirmed and amplified by that of coins. The characteristic type of the kings of Mathurā is a standing figure which has been supposed to represent the God Kṛṣṇa, and this type is continued by their conquerors and successors, the satraps of the Śaka King of Kings. (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. p. 526). Many dedicatory inscriptions prove that the Jains were a flourishing community at Mathurā in the reigns of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva. (Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. I, p. 113). A Muttra inscription, according to Mr. R. Chanda, records the erection of a toraṇa, vedikā and chatuḥśāla at the Mahāsthāna of Vāsudeva, in the reign of the Mahāshatrapa Śoḍāsa. (*Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, pp. 98-99). The Mathurā nāga statuette inscription is an evidence of serpent worship in Mathurā, which is important in view of the story of Kāliya nāga and his suppression by Kṛṣṇa recorded in the *Purāṇas* compiled during the Gupta period. The paucity of Bhāgavata inscriptions at Mathurā probably indicates that Bhāgavatism did not find much favour at the royal court because from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D., the people were usually Buddhists and were, with a few exceptions, not well disposed towards

the religion of Vāsudeva. (Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect, p. 100).

The Pre-Kushan sculptures of Muttra are the most instructive because they all emanate from one and the same school. Those sculptures divide themselves into three main classes, the earliest belonging approximately to the middle of the second century B.C., the second to the following century, and the last associated with the rule of the local Satraps. The sculptures of the third class are more exceptional. Their style is that of the early school in a late and decadent phase, when its cut was becoming conventionalised and lifeless. A little before the beginning of the Christian era, Muttra had become the capital of a satrapy either subordinate to, or closely connected with the Scytho-Parthian kingdom of Taxila. And as a result, there was an influx there of the Semi-Hellenistic Art, too weak in its environment to maintain its own individuality, yet still strong enough to interrupt and enervate the older traditions of Hindusthan. It was no longer a case of Indian Art being vitalised by the inspiration of the West, but of its being deadened by its embrace. As an illustration of the close relations that existed between Muttra and the North-west, the votive tablet of Loṇa-śobhikā is particularly significant, the stūpa depicted on it being identical in form with the stūpas of the Scytho-Parthian epoch at Taxila, but unlike any monument of the class in Hindusthan. (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I., p. 633). Sir Charles Eliot points out that we need not feel surprise if we find in the religious thought of Muttra elements traceable to Greece, Persia or Central Asia, (Hinduism and

Sculpture and
Architecture.

Buddhism, Vol. II., p. 158) because we know that the sculptural remains found at Mathurā indicate the presence of Graeco-Bactrian influence.

Smith points out that Mathurā was probably the original site of the celebrated iron pillar at Delhi, on which the eulogy of a powerful king named Chandra is incised (Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 386). Of the Śaka Satraps of Mathurā, says Mr. Rapson, we possess a most valuable monument which was discovered and first published by Bhagavānlāl Indrājī who bequeathed it to the British Museum. It is in the form of a large lion carved in red sandstone and intended to be the capital of a pillar. The workmanship shows undoubted Persian influence. The surface is completely covered with inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī characters which gave the genealogy of the Satrapal family ruling at Muttra. These inscriptions show that the Satraps of Muttra were Buddhists (*Ancient India*, pp. 142-143). The Mathurā Lion capital was of hard red sandstone discovered by Bhagavānlāl Indrājī at Muttra where it was built into the steps of an altar devoted to the worship of Śītalā or the goddess of small pox. (*Ibid*, p. 158).

CHAPTER V

THE CEDIS

The Cedis formed one of the most ancient tribes among the Kṣatriyas in early Vedic times. So early as the period of the Ṛgveda, the Cedi kings had acquired great renown by their munificent gifts at the sacrifices, and also by their great prowess and victories. Ṛṣi Brahmātithi of the family of Kānva thus sings the praises of King Kaśu, the Caidya, in a hymn addressed to the Aśvins; "Become apprised Aśvins, of my recent gifts, how that Kaśu, the son of Cedi, has presented me with a hundred camels and ten thousand cows, the son of Cedi, who has given me for servants ten Rājās, bright as gold, for all men are beneath his feet; all those around him wear cuirasses of leather. No one proceeds by that path which the Cedis follow, no other pious man as a more liberal benefactor confers (favour on those who praise him)." (Ṛgveda, VIII. 5, 37-39). From this account we see that the Cedi king must have been very powerful inasmuch as he is described as making a gift of ten Rājās or kings as slaves to a priest who officiated evidently at one of his sacrifices. Even making allowances for an amount of exaggeration which is inevitable in these *Dānastutis* or laudatory verses for munificence and charity, there can be no doubt that a king who could make a free gift of Rājās as slaves must have been a powerful sovereign. His soldiers dressed in cuirasses of leather as the *Dānastuti* tells us, must have

carried his arms far and wide, and brought the neighbouring peoples "beneath his feet." The Cedi monarch Kaśu must have been a commanding personality in the Ṛgvedic times, and it appears that he brought many kings under his sway.

The Cedis are not expressly mentioned in the later Vedic literature, such as the Brāhmaṇas or the Kalpasūtras. But it will be wrong to suppose that the Cedis had grown extinct, because they are one of the leading powers of northern India in the Great Epic. It is probable that the Cedis were not so prominent in their sacrificial rites, or their political power, in the Brāhmaṇa age as they had been in the earlier era of the Ṛgvedic hymns. But there were ups and downs in the history of every great Kṣatriya power in India, and such must have been the case with the Cedis also.

We have referred to the glories of the Cedi monarch, Kaśu, sung in the hymns of the Ṛgveda. Another great Cedi monarch of ancient times, Vasu, who acquired the designation of Uparicara, is glorified in the Great Epic, and traditions about him and his successors are recorded in the Jātakas. This Cedi king appears to have been characterised by great religious merit. Himself a Paurava, he is recorded to have been, through his daughter Satyavatī, the progenitor of the Kauravas and the Pāṇdavas.

From the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata¹ we learn that Vasu, the Paurava, conquered the beautiful and excellent kingdom of the Cedis on the advice of the god Indra whose friendship he had acquired by his austerities, and who,

¹ M. N. Dutt, *Mahābhārata*, p. 83.

pleased with his asceticism, presented him a great crystal car.¹ Because of his riding on it and moving through the upper regions like a celestial being, though possessing a physical body he came to be known as Uparicara.² King Uparicara Vasu had one son and one daughter by an apsarā named Adrikā living as a fish under the curse of a Brāhmaṇa. The daughter was named Satyavatī who became the mother of Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana and others, and was the queen of King Śāntanu. The boy was taken by King Uparicara, and became afterwards a virtuous and powerful monarch named Matsya and the daughter was given to a fisherman. We learn from the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata (Chapter 63, pp. 69-71) that Uparicara Vasu had a few other sons, namely, Vṛhadratha, Pratyagraha, Kuśāmba and others who founded kingdoms and cities after their names (M. N. Dutt, Mahābhārata, Ch. 63, p. 84). The Vāyupurāṇa also confirms this story of the conquest of the Cedi country by Vasu, the Paurava. We read there that Yayāti had a chariot which used to move according to his desire. It came to the hand of Vasu, king of the Cedis (Vāyupurāṇa, Chap. 99). According to another account, Vasu, a descendent of Kuru, conquered the Yādava kingdom of Cedi, and established himself there, whence he was known as Caidya-Uparicara. His capital was Śuktimatī on the river Śuktimatī. He extended his conquests eastwards as far as Magadha and apparently north-west also over Matsya. Hence he was regarded as a samrāj and cakravartī. He divided his territories of Magadha, Cedi, Kauśāmbī, Karuṣa and apparently Matsya among his five sons. His eldest son Vṛhadratha took

¹ M. N. Dutt, Mahābhārata, p. 84.

² Ibid., p. 85.

Magadha with Girivraja as his capital and founded the famous Vārhadratha dynasty there ; and with it Magadha for the first time took a prominent place in traditional history.¹

The Māhābhārata in another section, also speaks of the greatness of this Cedi monarch. Uparicara Vasu, we are told here, was a great sacrificer. He used to rule his kingdom like Indra. During his reign he performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice in which sixteen great sages were appointed to officiate as priests. Vṛhaspati also was engaged as a sacrificer. All things necessary for a sacrifice were supplied but no animal was killed. Thus the sacrifice was completed. The god invoked appeared in the sacrifice, and took a portion of it. Vṛhaspati grew angry because the god took a portion of the sacrificial offerings concealing himself. At last the wrath of Vṛhaspati was appeased. After the performance of the sacrifice, the king ruled the kingdom. In consequence of the curse given by the sages, he entered the earth and worshipped Nārāyaṇa. (Śāntiparva, Mahābhārata, Ch. 136, p. 1802). In the same parva of the Mahābhārata we also find that there was a conflict between the gods and the ṛṣis on the performance of the sacrifice. The gods were in favour of the performance of the sacrifice by goat-killing and the sages were against it. At last the matter was referred to King Uparicara Vasu. The king decided in favour of the gods. At this the sages grew angry and cursed him. As a result of this curse, he entered the earth but he had firm faith in Nārāyaṇa, and afterwards he was freed from this curse by Nārāyaṇa (Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, Ch. 137, pp. 1803-1804).

¹ Fargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 282.

In the Cetiya Jātaka,¹ we get a dynastic list of the ancestors of Upacara or Apacara who was the ruler of Sotthivatinagara in the kingdom of Ceti: Mahāsammata was succeeded by Roga, who was succeeded by Vararoja, who by Kalyāna, who by Vara-kalyāna, who by Uposatha, who by Mandhātā, who by Vara-mandhātā, who by Cara, and Cara was succeeded by Upacara or Apacara. These were all kings of Ceti or Cedi. Upacara had a Brahmin purohita named Kapila whose younger brother was his class-mate. Upacara while he was a prince, made a promise to his class-mate that he would make him his purohita when he would ascend the throne of Cedi. But he could not keep his word as he was unable to remove the old purohita. While attempting to fulfil his promise, he spoke falsehood with the result that he had to go to the Avīci Hell. The inhabitants of Ceti became terrified at this. King Upacara had five sons who were asked by the purohita (chaplain) to go in five directions: one son went to the east, and founded Hatthipura; the second son went to the south, and founded Assapura; the third went to the west, and founded Sīhapura; the fourth went to the north; and founded Uttarapañcāla; and the last son went to the north-west, and founded Dad-darapura.

The next great Cedi monarch who appears to have made a name for himself, and acquired considerable power in the Epic period, is Śiśupāla who is called *Damaghoṣasuta* (Mahābhārata, I. 7029) or *Damaghoṣātmaja* (II. 1594; III. 516). He had allied himself with the great Jarāsandha and had, on account of his heroism and bravery, been appointed the generalissimo

¹ Jātaka (Fausboll), Vol. III., pp. 454-461.

of the Magadhan emperor.¹ His improper conduct appears to have roused the displeasure of many of the Kṣatriya tribes of his time, but he was, at the same time, looked upon with fear, so much so, that he was considered to have been an incarnation of the great *Daiṭya* Hiraṇya-Kaśipu (Ādiparva, 67. 5), and the Epic tells us how he bore a charmed life, unassailable by any ordinary mortal (II. Chaps. 42 and 43). He was related, on his mother's side, to the Satvats or Yādavas, but he had allied himself with Kāṁsa and Jarāsandha, enemies of the Yādavas, had destroyed their city, Dvārakā, and had also molested them in other ways. The Yādava hero, Kṛṣṇa, had been waiting for a suitable opportunity to remove this great enemy of his family. Such an opportunity was offered at the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira who, by his conquests, had acquired the position of a suzerain among the Kṣatriya monarchs of northern India in the Epic period. Yudhiṣṭhira, finding it incumbent upon him, according to the procedure of the sacrifice, to make an *arghya* (offering) to the most honoured and worthy individual present in the assemblage gathered at his court on the occasion, sought the advice of the old patriarch, Bhīṣma and, under the instructions of the latter, offered the *arghya* to Kṛṣṇa, the Yādava, as the worthiest person. This roused the ire of Śiśupāla who strongly protested against this decision of Bhīṣma, and was successful in securing the support of a large number of other kings who also joined him in his protest. He was about to fall upon Kṛṣṇa. The rest of the story we shall tell in the excellent summary

¹ "Tam sa rājā Jarāsandham Samśritya kila sarvasaḥ rājan senāpatirjātaḥ Śiśupāla pratāpavāna." (Mahābhārata, II. 14. 10-11).

given by Sörensen : “As Yudhiṣṭhira was afraid that his sacrifice might be obstructed, Bhīṣma consoled him saying that Kṛṣṇa was invincible. Śiśupāla again censured Bhīṣma and Kṛṣṇa, and compared Bhīṣma to the old swan, who always preached of virtue, so that the other birds gave him food and kept their eggs with him, but the old swan used to eat up their eggs, till he was found out and slain. Śiśupāla censured Kṛṣṇa’s behaviour towards Jarāsandha ; Bhīma rushed up in anger but was restrained by Bhīṣma, while Śiśupāla was boasting. Bhīṣma said : Śiśupāla was born with three eyes and four hands and brayed like an ass ; his parents resolved to abandon him, but were prevented by an incorporeal voice which foreboded that that man in whose lap the child would be sitting, when its superfluous arms would fall down and the third eye on its forehead disappear, should be its slayer. Though the child was placed upon the laps of 1,000 kings, this came not to pass until Rāma and Kṛṣṇa went to the capital of the Cedis to see their father’s sister (the mother of Śiśupāla), when the boy was placed on the lap of Kṛṣṇa ; then the arms fell down and the eye disappeared. Kṛṣṇa granted to Śiśupāla’s mother the boon that he would pardon 100 offences of Śiśupāla’s. Bhīṣma declared that Kṛṣṇa himself had wanted to provoke the boast of Śiśupāla. Śiśupāla reproached Bhīṣma because he did not rather praise the other kings, such as the Bālīhika King, Darada, or Karṇa, etc., he compared Bhīṣma to the bird Bhūliṅga. Bhīṣma expressed his contempt for such talk. The kings became angry and proposed to kill Bhīṣma, who relied upon Kṛṣṇa. Śiśupāla challenged Kṛṣṇa, being desirous to slay him with all the Pāṇḍavas. Kṛṣṇa related how Śiśupāla,

hearing that the Sātvatas had gone to Prāgjyotiṣa, came and burnt Dvārakā ; that when King Bhoja was sporting on the Raivataka hill, he fell upon his attendants and slew many of them and led many away in chains to his own city ; in order to obstruct the sacrifice of Kṛṣṇa's father, he stole the sacrificial horse that had been let loose under the guard of armed men ; that he ravished the reluctant wife of Babhru on her way from Hastināpura to the Sauvīras ; that disguising himself in the attire of the Kārūṣa King, he had ravished the Bhadrā Vaiśālī (*i.e.*, daughter of the king of Viśālā) ; that he had desired Rukmiṇī but failed to obtain her ; that he (Kṛṣṇa) had promised to pardon him 100 times, and that the number had now become full. Kṛṣṇa then thought of his discus, which came into his hand ; therewith he instantly cut off the head of Śiśupāla ; the kings beheld a fiery energy issuing out of the body of Śiśupāla and entering Kṛṣṇa's body ; the sky though cloudless, poured showers of rain, etc. Yudhiṣṭhira caused his brothers to perform the funeral rites of Śiśupāla, the son of Damaghoṣa ; then he with all the kings, installed the son of Śiśupāla in the sovereignty of the Cedis." (S. Sorensen, *An Index to the names in the Mahābhārata*, p. 201).

The Purāṇas also corroborate the Epic story of Śiśupāla. We read in the Agni Purāṇa (4.14) that Damaghoṣa, king of the Cedis, married Śrutaśravā, sister of Vasudeva and Śiśupāla was the son of them (Vāyu, Ch. 96, Brahma, Ch. 14). Damaghoṣa's son, Śiśupāla, king of the Cedis, attended the Svayamvara of Draupadī but no sooner did he take up the bow than he sat down.¹ Bhīmasena went to the kingdom

¹ Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Ch; 87, p. 177.

of Cedi and easily subdued Śiśupāla.¹ In the Vanaparva we read that Karna conquered the son of Śiśupāla and other neighbouring kings.² Dhṛṣṭaketu, who, after the death of his father, had been placed upon the throne of the Cedis by Yudhiṣṭhira, became a friend of the Pāṇḍavas and when the great war broke out, he was appointed as the leader of the Cedi army which marched to the battlefield to help the Pāṇḍavas (Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva, Ch. 156, p. 777, Ch. 198, pp. 807-808). The Cedis must have been very powerful at the time, inasmuch as we are told that Dhṛṣṭaketu led one complete akṣauhiṇī to the field (V. 19). In the Bhīṣmaparva we read that the Cedi king along with Bhīma and others was placed in the front of the Pāṇḍava army (Ch. 19, p. 830). In the same parva we find that Dhṛṣṭadyumna, Śikhaṇḍin and others, surrounded by the Cedis and others, remained in the midst of the great army. (Ch. 59, p. 935). Dhṛṣṭaketu went to the battlefield on a Kambojian horse which had variegated colours like a deer. (Droṇaparva, Ch. 22, pp. 1012-1013). He was killed in the Kurukshetra war and his brother Suketu was killed by Droṇa. (Mahābhārata, Karnaparva, Ch. 6, p. 1169). Yudhiṣṭhira himself admitted that he had a strong supporter in the king of Cedi (in his) fight against Duryodhana. (Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva, Ch. 72, p. 714). Bhīma mentioned eighteen kings, who by their great strength, ruined their friends and relations and among them Sahaja of the Cedi dynasty was one. (Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva, Ch. 74, p. 717).

From the Aśvamedhaparva of the Mahābhārata (Chap-

¹ Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, Ch. 29, p. 241.

² Ibid, Chap. 253, pp. 513-14.

ters, 83-84, pp. 2093-2094), we learn that Arjuna let loose his horse to the south, which reached the city named Śukti in the kingdom of Cedi. There he had a fight with the son of Śiśupāla named Sarabha with the result that Sarabha was defeated, and he showed respects to Arjuna and acknowledged his suzerainty.

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa (4.12) and the Agnipurāṇa (275) tell us that the descendants of Cedi, son of Kauśika, are known as Caidyas. The Cedis in the Purāṇas. of Kauśika, are known as Caidyas. The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (Chapters, 129, 130, 131) refers to a Cedi princess, Śuśobhanā by name, who was one of the many queens of King Maru. It is recorded in the Viṣṇupurāṇa (4.12) that Vidarbha, son of Jyāmagha, had three sons of whom Kauśika was one. Cidi was a son of Kauśika and the descendants of this Cidi are known as Caidyarājās. (See also Vāyupurāṇa, Ch. 95). In the Matsyapurāṇa (Ch. 44) Cedi is written as Cidi (see also Agnipurāṇa, Chap. 275). The Kurmapurāṇa also tells the same story of the origin of the name of Cedi. King Vidarbha, it says, had a son named Cidi and, after his name, his descendants came to be known as Caidyas. Dyutimān was the eldest of his sons, the others being Vapuṣmān, Vrihatmedhā, Śrideva and Vitaratha (Kurmapurāṇa, Ch. 24). Mr. Pargiter observes that Cedi and other kingdoms, for example, Vatsa, did not come under the rule of the Pauravas. (Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 293). But we may note that the famous king, Vasu Uparicara, who conquered and settled in the Cedi country, was a Paurava by birth. Mr. Pargiter suggests that Pratyagraha may have taken Cedi. (Ibid, p. 118).

In the Great Epic we find the Cedis allied in a group with such western tribes as the Pañcālas, the Matsyas and the Karūṣas, and also on the other hand, with peoples who lived in the east such as the Kāśīs and Kośalas. We have referred to their connection with the Matsyas in our section dealing with that people. We read of the Cedi-Kārūṣakāḥ bhumipālāḥ, or the rulers of the Cedis and Kārūṣakas who espoused the cause of the Pāṇḍavas (V. 22). Again, the Cedi-Pañcāla-Kaikeyas are placed in one group (V. 144). We are also told that Dhṛṣṭaketu was the leader of the Cedi-Kāśī-Karūṣa peoples (V. 196). In the Bhīṣmaparva also we find the group, Cedi-Kāśī-Karūṣa, fighting together (VI. 47 ; VI. 106 ; VI. 115 ; VI. 116). Sometimes the Cedis are grouped together with the Kārūṣas and the Matsyas—Cedi-Matsya-Kārūṣaḥ (VI. 54) or Cedi Kārūṣa-Matsyānām (VIII. 30)—and also we have Cedi-Pañcāla-Kārūṣa-Matsyāḥ (VI. 59) or Cedi-Kārūṣa-Kośalāḥ (VII. 21). These examples can be further multiplied, but we think it unnecessary. In the majority of cases the Cedis are found combined with the Matsyas, and it seems that the Matsyas formed their immediate neighbours on the west and the Kāśīs on the east.

The capital of the Cedi king, Dhṛṣṭaketu, is called Suktimatī (Mahābhārata, III. 22) and again it is described as named after Sukti or oyster (*Purāṇa ramyaṇ Cedinām Sukti-Sāhvayām*, XIV. 83). This city appears to have stood on the river Suktimatī which, we are told (I. 63), flowed near the capital of the Cedi king, Vasu Uparicara, and this river Suktimatī is also described as one of the rivers in Bhārata-varṣa in the geographical chapter in the Bhīṣmaparva. (VI.9).

Mention is made of Cedi as one of the janapadas in the Padmapurāṇa (third chapter). The Viṣṇudharmottara Mahāpurāṇa also mentions Cedi as a janapada (Ch. 9). Cedi (Ceti) is also mentioned as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas in the Jaina and Buddhist literatures.¹ The Cetis, said the late Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, were probably the same tribe as that called Cedi in older documents, and had two distinct settlements. One, probably the older, was in the mountains, in what is now called Nepal. The other, probably a later colony, was near Kosambī to the east and has been confused with the land of the Vamsā.² Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his Ancient India³ agrees with Dr. Rhys Davids that one branch of the Cedis had their local habitat in Bundelkhand, the other being located somewhere in Nepal.

Cunningham says that in the inscriptions of the Kalachuri or Haihaya dynasty of Cedi, the Rājās assume the titles of "Lords of Kālanjarapura and of Tri-Kaliṅga." Kālanjar is the well-known hill-fort in Bundelkhand; and Tri-Kaliṅga or the "three Kaliṅgas" must be the three kingdoms of Dhanaka or Amarāvati on the Kistnā, Andhra or Warangol, and Kaliṅga or Rājā Mahendri.⁴ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says that Ceta or Cetiya corresponds roughly to the modern Bundelkhand.⁵ Mr. Rapson says that in the post-Vedic period, the Cedis occupied the northern portion of the Central Provinces.⁶ In the Cambridge History of

¹ *Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. IV. pp. 252, 256 and 260; cf. *Bhagavati Sūtra*;

² *Buddhist India*, p. 26.

³ p. 8

⁴ *Ancient Geography*, p. 518.

⁵ *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 52.

⁶ *Ancient India*, p. 162.

India (p. 84) we read that the Cedis dwelt in Bundelkhand to the north of the Vindhya. Mr. Pargiter is of the opinion that Cedi lies along the south of the Jumna.¹ Mr. N. L. Dey in his Geographical Dictionary writes that according to Tod, Chanderi, a town in Malwa, was the capital of Śīśupāla who was killed by Kṛishṇa. According to Dr. Führer, Dahala Maṇḍala was the ancient Cedi. Some are of opinion that Cedi comprised the southern portion of Bundelkhand and northern portion of Jabbalpur. Kālanjara was the capital of Cedi under the Gupta kings. Cedi was also called Tripuri.²

It is stated in the Vessantara Jātaka that Cetaraṭṭha (*i.e.* Cedirāṣṭra) was 30 yojanas distant from Jetuttarānagara, the birth place of King Vessantara. It was inhabited by 60,000 Khatṭiyas who are also described here as Cetiya-rājās. Vessantara with his wife and children started from Jetuttara at the time of breakfast and reached the capital of Cetaraṭṭha in the evening.³ Again, in the Cetiya Jātaka we are told that King Upacara was the ruler of Soṭṭhivatinagara in the kingdom of Ceti.⁴ This account shows that Soṭṭhivati which appears to be identical with Suktimatī of the Great Epic, was the capital of the kingdom of Ceti.

In the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata we read that the kingdom of Cedi is full of riches, gems and precious stones. It contains much mineral wealth. The cities in the king-

Description of Cedi in the Mahābhārata and the Jātakas.

¹ Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p: 272.

² N. L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary, p. 14.

³ Jātaka, Vol. VI., pp. 514-515.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. III., pp. 454-461.

dom are full of virtuous people who are honest, contented and never speak falsehood even in jest. Here sons never divide their wealth with their fathers. They are mindful of their parents' welfare. Lean kine are never yoked to the plough or to the cart engaged in carrying merchandise. They are all well-fed and fat. The four castes are engaged in doing their respective duties in Cedi.¹

The Vessantara Jātaka tells us that the Cetaratṭha is prosperous and wealthy, and that it is a janapada full of meat, wine and rice.² The Chinese pilgrims record no account of Cedi.

In the Vessantara Jātaka we read that Vessantara with his wife and children left the kingdom of his father, Sivi, king of Jetuttara. It is told there that Vessantara did not enter the Cedi capital but stayed in a sālā at the gate of the town. The inhabitants of Ceti or Cedi surrounded them noticing signs of greatness in them. They were grieved to think that these persons who were endowed with such good signs, should roam about on foot. They at once informed the sixty-thousand Khattiyas, who were also the inhabitants of the kingdom of Ceti, of the distressed condition of the strangers. The Khattiyas came and, being informed of Vessantara's whereabouts, asked him about his mission. The latter said that he was desirous of going to the Vaṅkapabbata (Gandhamādana), and asked their permission to visit the spot. They requested him to take food and told him that they would go to King Sivi to ask his pardon for him. He requested them not to do so as he had left

¹ M. N. Dutt, *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva, p. 84.

² Jātaka (Fausboll) Vol. VI., pp. 514-515.

the kingdom because the subjects of Sivi did not like him. Vessantara proceeded to the Vaṅkapabbata and the sixty-thousand Khattiyas followed him to a certain distance. They engaged one of them who was intelligent, to guard the gate of the forest, in order to watch the movements of travellers. Thus they helped Vessantara to go to the Vaṅkapabbata.¹ The above account shows that the Cedis were hospitable to strangers.

From the Vedabbha Jātaka, we learn that in a village in Benares there was a brahmin who was acquainted with a charm called Vedabbha. He went to the Cetiya country with the Bodhisatta who was his pupil. Five hundred robbers caught them in a forest on the way. The robbers were in the habit of setting people free after taking ransom. In this case they caught the brahmin and asked the Bodhisatta to bring ransom. The Bodhisatta left the spot for it and the brahmin was kept with his hands and feet tied. The brahmin asked the reason why he was thus punished and was informed by the robbers that they would set him free after taking money. The Brahmin caused money to shower from the sky by repeating his mantra. The robbers got the money and released him. The brahmin followed them. The first band of five hundred robbers was attacked by another band of the same number who were informed that if they wanted money they should attack the brahmin. Thus informed they did so, but in vain. The result was that the brahmin was cut to pieces by the band of robbers who again attacked the first band. There was a conflict between the two bands with the result that all the

¹ Jātaka (Fausboll) Vol. VI., pp. 516-519.

robbers were killed except two. The remaining two also met with their death. The Bodhisatta came back and went away after taking all the money.¹ This account shows that the way from Benares to Cedi was frequented by robbers and was unsafe to travellers.

In the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*² we read that Mahācunda was once dwelling in the town of Sahajāti among the Cedis. He addressed the bhikkhus thus, "The bhikkhus who have realised Dhamma should praise the bhikkhus who are meditative and vice versa." The same *Nikāya* further tells us that Anuruddha was dwelling among the Cedis in the Deer-Park of Pācīnavamsa. Sitting in a solitary place he thought thus, "the Dhamma preached by the Buddha is fit for those who have got very little desire, and it is not fit for those who have got endless cravings. It is indeed fit for those who are satisfied with the little they get, for those who live in a solitary place and for those who are exerting." The Buddha by his own mind came to know the thoughts that had arisen in the mind of Anuruddha, and he at once appeared before him. The Master thanked him for such thoughts and told him thus, "As long as you will cherish such thoughts, you will get the first, second, third and fourth stage of meditation." He then requested Anuruddha to stay in the Deer Park for another rainy season. Anuruddha afterwards became an Arahāt by dwelling among the Cedis or Cetis.³ Mahācunda was dwelling at Sahajāti among the Cetis. He addressed the

¹ *Jātaka*, (Cowell), Vol. I. pp. 121-124.

² Vol. III. (P.T.S.), pp. 355-356.

³ P. T. S. Vol. IV., pp. 228 foll.

bhikkhus thus, "the bhikkhu who says, 'I know the Dhamma and I realise it' should be told that he does not know the dhamma and he does not realise it, if he is found to be overcome by avarice, hatred, ignorance, anger, etc. The bhikkhu who says, 'I have meditated on kāya (body), sīla (precepts), mana (mind) and paññā (wisdom), should be told that he has not meditated in such a way that he will be overcome by avarice, hatred, ignorance, anger, etc., if he is actually found to be overcome by these evils." The contrary view is also told by Mahācunda to the bhikkhus.¹ On another occasion Mahācunda while living among the Cedis at Sahajāti, addressed the bhikkhus thus, "If any bhikkhu says that he can acquire the four stages of meditation and four stages of meditation on formlessness and also meditation on cessation of breath (nirodhasamāpatti) and if he destroys these, being puffed up, listening to the words of his praise, uttered by the Tathāgata or by the disciple of the Tathāgata, the bhikkhu should be called wicked, having no faith in the Buddha, and having broken the sīla, uneducated, disobedient, a friend of the sinner, idle, unmindful, a flatterer, a burden of the people and unwise." The contrary view is also told to the bhikkhus.² In the Dīgha Nikāya we read that the Buddha went to the Cedis and other tribes while out on preaching.³ The Saṃyutta Nikāya informs us that many theras were dwelling among the Cedis in the Sahañcanika. They assembled together in a place after finishing their

¹ Aṅguttara, P. T. S., Vol. V., p. 41 foll.

² Aṅguttara Nikāya, P. T. S., Vol. V. pp. 157-161.

³ Vol. II., pp. 200, 201, 203, Janavasabha Suttanta.

alms-begging. The following conversation took place amongst them :—

“Those who realise suffering realise origin, cessation and the path leading to the cessation of suffering.” A thera named Gavampati told the other theras, “I have heard from the Buddha that those who realise suffering will realise origin, cessation and the path leading to the cessation of suffering. Those who realise the origin of suffering realise suffering, cessation of suffering and the path leading to it. Those who realise the cessation of suffering realise suffering, the origin and the path leading to the cessation of it. Those who realise the path realise suffering, the origin and the cessation of it.” (Samyutta Nikāya, Vol. V., pp. 436-437).

The Cedis of the Vedic period like other tribes, *e.g.*, the Pūrus, were a group of families, says Constitution. Dr. V. A. Smith, and in each family the father was the master. The whole tribe was governed by a Rājā, whose power was checked to an undefined extent by a tribal council. The details recorded suggest that the life of the people was not unlike that of many tribes of Afghanistan in modern times before the introduction of fire arms.¹

The later kings of Cedi used an era according to which, the year 1 was equivalent to A.D. 248-9. This era, also called the Traikūṭaka, originated in Western India where its use can be traced back to the fifth century. The reason of its adoption by the

The Cedi era.

¹ Ancient and Hindu India, p. 22.

kings of Cedi is not apparent.¹ Mr. Rapson points out that the Cedi or Kalacuri era starts from 249 A.D. It marks the establishment of a great power in some region of India and originally denoted the regnal years of its founder.²

Kokalladeva I. of the Cedi dynasty helped Bhojadeva II.

to ascend the throne of Kanouj; it is
Later kings. evident from the stone inscription of the

kings of the Cedi dynasty discovered at Vishari that Kokalladeva I. erected two wonderful monuments in this world.³ Mr. Banerjee points out that during the reign of Mahīpāladeva, Gāṅgeyadeva of the Cedi dynasty attacked Gauda and occupied Mithilā.⁴ Mr. Banerjee further says that coins of Gāṅgeyadeva only of the Cedi dynasty of Dāhala were discovered, and no coins of the kings of the Cedi dynasty of Dāhala, prior or posterior to him, are known to us.⁵ Numismatists suppose that Gāṅgeyadeva (of the Cedi dynasty), issued a new coinage in Uttarāpatha (Prācīna Mudrā, p. 211). In the Madhyadeśa, the Cedis reigned for a long time. Gold, silver and copper coins of Gāṅgeyadeva have been discovered, which are similar. On one side there is the name of the king in two lines and on the other there is a figure of a four-armed goddess.⁶ At the end of the 11th Century A.D. Kānyakubja (Kanouj) came under the sway of Kaṇṇadeva of the Cedi dynasty.⁷

¹ V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 394.

² *Ancient India*, p. 22.

³ R. D. Banerjee, *Vāṅgālār Itihāsa*, p. 202.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 224. ⁶ *Prācīna Mudrā*, p. 212.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 212. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

Coins of one king of the Cedi or Kalacuri dynasty of Kalyāṇapura have also been discovered. On one side of the coins is engraved the figure of the boar-incarnation and on the other is written 'Murāri' in Nāgrī character. 'Murāri,' perhaps, as Mr. Banerjee says, is another name of Someśvaradeva, the second king of the above mentioned Cedi dynasty.¹

¹ R. D. Banerjee, *Prācīna Mudrā*, p. 184.

CHAPTER VI

THE VAŚAS, VAMŚAS OR VATSAS

The Vaśas were one of the peoples of Vedic Aryandom from the earliest period. One of them, The Vaśas in the R̥gveda. Vaśa Áśvya, is mentioned in the R̥gveda in several hymns of the first and the eighth maṇḍalas and also once in the tenth, as a protégé of the Áśvins (*i.e.*, i. 112, 10 ; 116, 21 ; viii, 8, 20 ; 24, 14 ; 46, 21, 23 ; 50, 9 ; X.40.7). The Áśvins are said to have protected this Vaśa Áśvya ; thus sings a verse of the R̥gveda, “You preserved Vaśa, O Áśvins, (that he might obtain) in a single day a thousand acceptable gifts.” (i.116,21). We are also told that he received presents to the number of one thousand every day. In a hymn of the R̥gveda (viii. 46) of which he is regarded as the author, he is spoken of as a recipient of bounty from Pṛthuśravas. Thus sings this hymn : “Let him draw near, who, though not a god, would receive the complete living gifts,—since Vaśa the son of Áśvya, receives it at the dawn of this (morning) at the hands of Pṛthuśravas, the son of Kanīta. I have received sixty thousand horses, and tens of thousands ; —a score of hundreds of camels,—a thousand brown mares,—and ten times ten thousand cows with three red patches. Ten brown horses bear along the wheel (of my chariot), of mature vigour, of complete power, and trampling down obstacles. These are the gifts of the wealthy Pṛthuśravas, the son of Kanīta ; he, bestowing a golden chariot, has proved himself most

liberal and wise, he has won most abundant fame." In the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI.11, 13) also he is spoken of as having received bounty from Pṛthuśravas Kāṇita. These facts seem to point out that this Vaśa Aśvya was a Brāhmin ṛṣi and not a Kṣatriya. The hymn of which he is the author is mentioned as the Vaśa hymn in the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas. (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, VIII.6, 2, 3 ; IX.3, 3, 19 ; Aitareya Āraṇyaka, i.5,1.2 ; Śāṅkhāyana Ār. ii.10.11). Though he is a Brahmin yet these Vedic passages show that the Vaśas were a well-known people in the R̥gvedic era. It is possible to take Vaśa here as a personal name, but it is equally likely that Vaśa here is a tribal designation and Aśvya the proper name of the person.

Vaśa as the name of a people is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14, 3) which
 Vaśas in the Brāh-
 maṇa literature. says, "Then in this firm middle established quarter the Sādhyas and the Āptyas, the gods, anointed him with six days with the Pañcaviṃśa, and with this triplet and this Yajus and these exclamations, for kingship. Therefore in this firm middle established quarter, whatever kings there are of the Kuru-Pañcālas with the Vaśas and Uśīnaras, they are anointed for kingship; 'king,' they style them when anointed, in accordance with the action of the gods." Here we observe that the Vaśas are spoken of as one of the Vedic tribes living in the Dhruva Madhyamādik or the Madhyadeśa of Manu along with the Kurus, Pañcālas and Uśīnaras. Their connection with this last tribe appears also to be proved by the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 2, 9) where Oldenberg reads *Savasa-Uśīnareṣu* instead of *Savasa* in the printed edition. In the

Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad (IV.1) he also points out a mention of the Vaśas along with the Uśīnaras, Matsyas and Kuru-Pañcālas (Oldenberg, Buddha, 393, n ; 407, n.).

Professor Oldenberg also thinks that the Vaśas are identical with the Vaṁśas. The Aṅguta-
 tara Nikāya mentions the country of the
 Vaṁśas as one of the mahājanapadas in
 early Buddhist times along with the Cedis,
 Kurus, Pañcālas, Matsyas, Sūrasenas, etc., who appear to
 have been their close neighbours. In the Janavasabha
 Suttanta, the Vaṁśas are mentioned in a group with the
 Cedis—Kāsī-Kosalesu, Vajji-Mallesu, Ceṭi-Vaṁsesu, Kuru-
 Pañcālesu, Maccha-Sūrasenesu. Evidently the Vaṁśas were
 the immediate neighbours of the Cedis so as to form a dual
 group like the other groups in the list.

In the Pāli Buddhist canon King Udena of the Vaṁśas
 is said to have been a contemporary of
 the Buddha and he is said to have survived
 the latter. Both in Pāli Buddhist litera-
 ture as well as in Brahmanic Sanskrit literature, stories
 to which we shall refer presently, are recited about this
 King Udena of the Vaṁśas of the Pāli books and King
 Udayana of the Vatsas of the Purāṇas and Sanskrit dramas.
 The capital of both these countries is mentioned as
 Kauśāmbī or Kosambī. Evidently the two peoples are
 the same. In the Jaina books the same people are spoken
 of as the Vachchhas (Uvāsagadasāo, Hoernle, Vol. II.,
 Appendix I, p. 7).

The country of the Vaṁśas or Vatsas, therefore, must
 be located round about Kauśāmbī, the position of which has

been identified with Kosāṃ not very far from Allāhābād. The Vatsa province is, therefore, supposed to lie to the north-east of Avanti along the bank of the Jumna and southwards from Kośala¹ and to the west of Allahabad.² The land of the Vatsas is in the middle region according to the Brihat Samhitā.³ Hiuen Tsang, who speaks of the land of the Vatsas as the Kauśāmbī country, says that it was about 6,000 li in circuit.⁴

In the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata in connection with the conquering expedition of The Vatsas in the Mahābhārata. Bhīmasena prior to the Rājasūya sacrifice, we find that Bhīmasena proceeded towards the east and conquered the Vatsabhumi (Ch. 30, pp. 241-242). In the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata, it is stated that Vatsa was also conquered by Karna. (Ch. 253, pp. 513-514). We further learn from the Anuśāsanaparva that the Haihayas gained the city of the Vatsas after killing Haryaśya (Ch. 30, p. 1899). In the Bhīṣmaparva we read that in the Kurukṣetra war, the Vatsa army took the side of the Pāṇḍavas. Nakula and Sahadeva along with the Vatsas and others guarded the left side of the Pāṇḍava army. (Ch. 50, p. 924).

We learn from the Aṅguttara Nikāya⁵ that Vaṃśa or Vatsa land had abundance of seven Product. kinds of gems so that it was looked upon as a very rich province. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya

¹ Buddhist India, p. 3.

² N. L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary, p. 100.

³ Watters on Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 368.

⁴ Ibid., p. 365.

⁵ Aṅguttara Nikāya, P. T. S., Vol. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260.

informs us that of cotton fabrics those of Madhurā, Vatsa, Aparānta, Kāśī, Vaṅga and of some other places were the best.¹ Kauśāmbī was a fertile country with a hot climate. It yielded much upland rice and sugarcane.² In the Si-yu-ki, we read that it was famous for its productiveness and the increase was very wonderful. Rice and sugarcane were plenty. The climate was very hot, as it is at the present day.³

The people have been described by Hiuen Tsang as
 People. enterprising, fond of the arts and culti-
 vators of religious merit.⁴ The manners
 of the people were hard and rough. They used to cultivate
 learning and were very earnest in their religious life and
 virtue. They used to study the Little Vehicle.⁵

The government of the country was vested in a
 Government. king who ruled over the country at his
 sweet will as monarchical was the form
 of government in Vatsa.⁶ Ordeal by walking unhurt
 through fire was current in the Vatsa country to prove the
 purity of descent. (Cambridge History Vol. I., p. 134).

Kauśāmbī, the capital of the Vatsas, has been identified
 The Vatsa capital and by Cunningham with Kosām on the
 its location. Jumna, about 30 miles south of west
 from Allahabad. Prof. Rapson says that Kauśāmbī has been

¹ Shamaśāstri, Tr. p. 94.

² Watters on Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. p. 366.

³ Beal, Records of the Western World, Vol. I. p. 235

⁴ Watters. on Yuan Chwang Vol. I. 366.

⁵ Beal, Records of the Western World, Vol. I. p. 235.

⁶ Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 114.

identified but not with absolute certainty, with Kosam, the name borne by two adjacent villages (Kosam Inam and Kosam Khirāj) in the Allahabad district (Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 170). St. Martin seems to think that it lay to the north-west of Prayāga. (Watters, on Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. p. 366). Fa-Hien places Kosambī thirteen yojanas (about 90 miles) to the north-west of the Deer Park to the north of Benares (Ibid, p. 367). This would make the city of Kosambī lie to the north of Prayāga (Ibid., p. 367). The question of the site of Kauśāmbī has been much debated chiefly because of the impossibility of reconciling Cunningham's identification (Kosam on the Jumna in the Allahabad district of the United Provinces) with the description of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. But in all this controversy it seems to have been forgotten that such descriptions may either have been incorrect originally or may have been misinterpreted subsequently. The tangible facts seem undoubtedly to support the identification of Kosam with Kauśāmbī. (Cambridge History, Vol. I., p. 524). It seems to have been on the south bank of the Jumna, at a point about 400 miles by road from Ujjenī and about 230 miles up stream from Benares. One route from Ujjenī to Kosambī lay through Vedisa, and other places whose names are given but of which nothing else is at present known. (Cambridge History, Vol. I., pp. 187-188).

Vincent Smith says that Kosam is a shortened form of Kosambī, and the place is known to this day among the Jains as Kosambinagara (J.R.A.S. 1898, pp. 503-504). The Brāhmaṇas generally asserted that Kosambī stood either on

the Ganges or close to it and the discovery of the name of Kosāmbimaṇḍala in an inscription over the gateway of the fort of Khara seems to confirm the general belief although the south-west bearing from Prayāga or Allāhābād as recorded by Hiuen Tsang, points unmistakably to the line of the Jumna. Cunningham says that the city was situated on the Jumna relying on the curious legend of Bakkula related by Spence Hardy in his *Manual of Buddhism*. (*Ancient Geography*, p. 395). It was on the Jumna and 30 leagues (say 230 miles) by river from Benares (*Commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, p. 25 ; *Buddhist India*, p. 36). Kosambī was suggested as one of the mahānagaras where the Blessed One should obtain parinibbāṇa (*Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II., pp. 146, 169).

Kauśāmbī had a great military strength. The remains at Kosam include those of a vast fortress with eastern ramparts and bastions, four miles in circuit with an average height of 30 to 35 ft. above the general level of the country. The city was also an important commercial centre as is indicated by the extraordinary variety of the coins found there ; and at a later date the name of the place was unquestionably Kauśāmbī as is proved by at least two inscriptions which have been actually discovered on the site. (*Cambridge History*, Vol. I, p. 524). Cast coins were issued at the close of the third century by the kingdoms of Kauśāmbī, Ayodhyā and Mathurā, some of which bear the names of local kings in the Brāhmī script. (*Brown's Coins of India*, p. 19). There is little foreign influence traceable in the die-struck coins, all closely connected in point of style, which issued during the first and second centuries B.C. from

Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā. A number of these bear Brāhmī inscriptions. The coins of Kauśāmbī have a tree within a railing on the obverse. (Ibid, p. 20). Coins of various castings have been found amongst the ruins of old Kauśāmbī. Some of them bear no writing (Prācīna Mudrā, p. 105). The coinage of the kings of Kauśāmbī seems to begin in the third century B.C., and to extend over a period of about three hundred years. (Cambridge History, Vol. I, p. 525). Kauśāmbī was the most important entrepôt for both goods and passengers coming to Kośala and Magadha from the south and west. The route from Kosambī to Rājagaha was down the river (Buddhist India, p. 36). Kauśāmbī was one of the chief stopping places on the way from Sāvattthī to Patitṭhāna and back. The main trade route of northern India from east to west was along the great rivers, along which boats plied for hire. Upwards the rivers were used along the Jumna as far west as Kosambī. (Ibid., p. 103).

There were, in the time of the Buddha, four establishments or settlements of the order in or near Kosambī, each of them having a group of huts under trees. One of them was in the ārāma or pleasure ground of Ghosita, two more in similar parks and one in Pāvāriya's mango grove. The Buddha was often there, at one or other of these settlements; and discourses he held on those occasions have been handed down in the canon. (Cambridge History, Vol. I. p. 188). From the Sutta-Nipāta commentary, (II. p. 584) we learn that the city of Kosambī was visited by the followers of Bāvari, a leader of the Jāṭilas and some

Kauśāmbī as a
Buddhist centre,

bhikkhus. In the time of Hiuen Tsang there were more than ten Buddhist monasteries but all in utter ruin. The brethren who were above 300 in number were adherents of the Hīnayāna system. There were more than 50 deva temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. (Watters, on Yuan Chwang, Vol. I., p. 366). We also learn from the Si-yu-ki that in the city of Kauśāmbī, within an old palace, there was a large vihāra about 60 feet high, in it was a figure of the Buddha carved out of sandal wood, above which was a stone canopy. It was the work of the king U-to-yen-na (Udayana). By its spiritual qualities (or between its spiritual marks) it produced a divine light, which from time to time shone forth. The princes of various countries had used their power to carry off this statue, but although many men tried, not all the number could move it. They, therefore, worshipped copies of it, and they pretended that the likeness was a true one and this was the original of all such figures. (Beal, Records of Western World, Vol. I, p. 235). Within the city, at the south-east angle of it, there was an old habitation, the ruins of which only exist. This was the house of Ghosita (Ghosira) the nobleman. In the middle, there was a vihāra of the Buddha and a stūpa containing hair and nail relics. There were also ruins of the Tathāgata's bathing-house. Not far to the south-east of the city was an old saṃghārāma. This was formerly the place where Ghosita the nobleman had a garden. In it was a stūpa built by Aśoka-rājā, about 200 feet high; here the Tathāgata for several years preached the law. To the south-east of the saṃghārāma, on the top of a double-storeyed tower, there was an old brick chamber where

Vasuvandhu Bodhisattva dwelt. (Beal, Records of the Western World, Vol. I., p. 236). There was in Kauśāmbī a company of monks, most of whom were students of the Hīnayāna school (Legge, Fa-Hien, p. 96). The Aśoka pillar on which Samudragupta recorded the history of his reign, is supposed to have been erected originally at the celebrated city of Kauśāmbī which stood on the high road between Ujjain and northern India, and was no doubt honoured at times by the residence of the monarch (Smith, Early History, p. 293).

In connection with the birth of the Buddha there was a discussion in the Tuṣita Heaven as to what family Buddha should be born in for his last birth. A Devaputra called Golden Mass said, "In the Vadsa country, the city of Kauśāmbī, there is a king called, "thousand excellences" (tsien-shing) ; his son called pih-shing (hundred excellences). That king has elephants, horses, the seven gems and armies (the four sorts of military force) in abundance ; will it please you to be born there ?". To which Prabhāpāla replied, "Although what you say may be true ; yet the mother of the King of Vadsa was born of a strange parent and therefore the son is not of pure descent, you must look elsewhere." (The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, p.28.). A similar account is given in the Lalitavistara where we are told that some of the Devaputras in the Tuṣita heaven urged that the *Vaṁśarāja-kula*, or the royal family of the Vaṁśas, in their opinion, was a suitable family for the Bodhisattva to be born in. But other Devaputras pointed out the defects of the Vaṁśas, that they were rude and rough, and their king was fond of destruction (Ucchedavādin) and so on. Their

royal family was, therefore, rejected as unfit for the last birth of the Bodhisattva. (*Lalitavistara*, ed. Lefmann, p. 21). But in connection with the passing away of the Lord, Ānanda said that it would hardly become the dignity of the Tathāgata to die in so small a town as Kuśīnagara, and he mentioned six great cities including Kauśāmbī, where the Tathāgata should obtain parinibbāṇa. (Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 44). Kern says that in northern India, many cities, Kauśāmbī, Mathurā, etc., could boast of possessing hairs and nails of the Tathāgata with stūpas erected over the relics. (*Ibid*, p. 88).

In the Pāli canon we read that Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja dwelt at Kauśāmbī at Ghositārāma. He was the son of the chaplain to King Udena of Kosambī. He learnt the three Vedas and taught the hymns to some brahmin youths. Then he went to Rājagaha. There he saw gifts and favours received by the Order of the Exalted One and entered the Order. He followed the method of the teacher with regard to temperance in diet. He then acquired six-fold abhiññā. (*Psalm of the Brethren*, p. III). King Udena of Kosambī approached Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, and asked the cause of young bhikkhus having black hairs on the head leading the life of pure brahmacārīs. Bhāradvāja replied, "It is the command of the Master that bhikkhus should regard as mother, a lady who has reached the age of a mother, should regard as sister her who has reached the age of a sister and should treat as daughter one who has reached the age of a daughter." The king further questioned Bhāradvāja, "Mind is unsteady when it is bent upon attaining something. It is for this reason that it might become temp-

ted to get the three classes of women referred to above. Is there any other cause of a bhikkhu leading a pure brahmacāri life ?” Bhāradvāja replied, “The Buddha instructed the bhikkhus to meditate upon the body, full of impurities.” The king further asked, “Those who do not meditate upon the impurities of the body find it difficult to lead the pure life of a Brahmacāri.” Bhāradvāja replied that the bhikkhus were instructed to control their senses. The king admitted that when he entered the harem with his senses uncontrolled, he used to think of various sensual pleasures, but when he entered with his senses controlled, he did not get the opportunity of thinking of sensual pleasures. (S. N., IV. pp. 110-112). King Udena was at first indifferent or even unfriendly towards Buddhism. On one occasion in a fit of drunken jealousy he tortured Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja by having a basket full of brown ants tied to his body. But long afterwards in consequence of the conversation he had with this same man Piṇḍola, he professed himself a disciple. We have no evidence that he proceeded very far along the path, but his fame has lasted in a curious way in Buddhist legends. He is said to have felt for the Buddha a loving admiration and made a golden image (Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, p. 49, second edition). Hiuen Tsang brought back with him many things including a statue of the Buddha carved out of a sandal-wood on a transparent pedestal. This figure is described as a copy of the statue which Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī, had made. (Beal, Records of Western World, Vol. I, Intro. p. XX.)

For many a time the Buddha stayed at Ghositārāma

at Kauśāmbī and was received by the bhikkhus. Touching offences committed by the bhikkhus, he discoursed on Dhamma, Vinaya, etc. (Vinaya Texts, pt. II, p. 285; Ibid. pt. III, p. 233).

In the Mahānārada Kassapa Jātaka we find that the Bodhisatta was born in the land of the Vaṁśas in a merchant's family at Kauśāmbī, great, prosperous and wealthy. He was the only son, continually fostered and honoured. There he followed a good friend who was wise and full of sacred learning and he was guided by his friend in performing what was good. (Cowell, Jātaka, Vol. VI, p. 120).

In the Surāpāna Jātaka we learn that the Buddha after staying for a long time at Bhaddavatikā, went to Kosambī where he was cordially received by the townsfolk. Kosambians invited the Master to take his meal. The Master after discoursing with the brethren at Kosambī laid it down as a precept that the drinking of intoxicants was an offence requiring confession and absolution. (Jātaka, Cowell, Vol. I, pp. 206-207). The Master while dwelling at the Badarika monastery in Kosambī told the Tipallatthamiga Jātaka about the elder Rāhula (Jātaka, Cowell, Vol. I, p. 47; Vol. III. p. 43).

In the Majjhima Nikāya we read that once the Blessed One lived at Ghositārāma at Kosambī. At that time the Kosambian monks were divided into two parties and were quarrelling. The Buddha asked them not to quarrel but, when requested not to interfere in the matter, the Master left. (Vol. III, p. 153; Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 320 foll).

Once the Blessed One dwelt at Ghositārāma at Kosambī. At that time Sandaka paribbājaka with his 500 followers was living at the cave of Pilakkha. Ānanda met him and gave him instruction on the folly of agnosticism (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 513 foll). In the Saṃyutta Nikāya, we read that the Blessed One dwelt at Ghositārāma at Kosambī. The Master entered Kosambī for alms in the forenoon. Then he left the Pārileyyaka forest. (Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. III, pp. 94-95). When the Buddha was at Kauśāmbī, he delivered the Jāliya Sutta to the people at the Ghositārāma including many seṭṭhis e.g. Kukkuṭa, Pāvāriya seṭṭhi, Ghosakaseṭṭhi who built three monasteries for the Buddha; Ghosaka built Ghositārāma, Kukkuṭa built Kukkuṭārāma, and Pāvāriya built Pāvārika-ambavana (Sumaṅgalavilāsini, pt. I, pp. 317-319).

Once while the Buddha was dwelling at Ghositārāma in Kosambī, paribbājakas named Maṇḍissa and Jāliya went to the Buddha and asked him whether the soul and the body were the same or different. The Buddha replied, "They are neither the same nor different" and he delivered to them a sermon as contained in the Sāmaññaphala Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya. (Dīgha Nikāya, I, p. 157, cf. Ibid., Jāliya Sutta, pp. 159-160). In the Saṃyutta Nikāya (Vol. V, p. 224), we read that the Buddha dwelt at Ghositārāma at Kosambī where Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja said to the Buddha that he had obtained saintship (arahatship). Some bhikkhus approached the Buddha and asked him the reason of his attaining arahatship. The Buddha replied that he did obtain arahatship by meditating on three senses which are sati-indriya, samādhi-indriya and paññindriya. In the same

Nikāya (pp. 229-230) we read that the Buddha dwelt at Ghositārāma at Kosambī where he delivered a sermon on sekha (learner) and an asekha (non-learner). We read in the Cullavagga (Vinaya Texts, pt. II, p. 370 foll) that the Blessed One while dwelling at Ghositārāma was informed of the fault committed by Channa who was unwilling to confess it. The Buddha convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu Samgha. In the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, we read that there lived at Kosambī a householder's son, Kosambivāsī Tissathera who took ordination from the Buddha. His supporter offered his son who was seven years old to Tissa. The boy was made sāmaṇera by Tissa and the sāmaṇera attained arahatship, when the hair of his head was being cut (Vol. II, pp. 182-185).

Ānanda was at Ghositārāma at Kosambī. Channa went to see him and requested him to give him some instruction. Ānanda said, "He who understands thoroughly the origin of the world as it is, cannot cherish any wrong belief in nihilism and he who understands thoroughly the cessation of the world as it is, cannot cherish any wrong belief in eternalism." (Saṃyutta Nikāya, pt. III, p. 133. foll).

Ānanda delivered several sermons on twelve nidānas, nirvāṇa, etc. (Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 115 foll). He had a talk with a householder named Ghosita on the difference of dhātu. (Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. IV. pp. 113-114).

It has been referred to in the Saṃyutta Nikāya (Vol. V, pp. 76-77), that Sāriputta and Upavāṇa lived at Ghositārāma at Kosambī. They had a discussion on the subject

of the realisation of seven bojjhaṅgas leading a person to happy living in the present existence.

The venerable Kosambian monks came to the Master at Jetavana and asked his pardon for not obeying his admonitions. The teacher told them thus, "Monks, you are my own legitimate sons, born of the words of my mouth. Now it is not proper for sons to trample under foot admonitions given them by their father. But you have not obeyed my admonitions." So saying the Master by way of example related the story of Dīghāvu and the king of Benares. (Buddhist Parables, Burlingame, p. 28). The teachings of the Buddha and his disciples had a remarkable influence on the minds of the Kosambī people. Some of the Kosambians entertained a great respect for the Buddha and the Buddhist faith and were converted to Buddhism; while others went so far as to enter His order and attain arahatship. We may mention the name of Gavaccha the less who was reborn as a Brahmin at Kosambī and hearing the Exalted One preach, entered the Order. At that time the bhikkhus of Kosambī had become quarrelsome. Gavaccha did not take part in the discussion on either side. He praised the Exalted One, developed insight and attained arahantship. (Psalms of the Brethren, p. 16).

At the time of the Buddha, Sāmāvatī therī was born of a rich householder at Kosambī. She was the favourite friend of queen Sāmāvatī, wife of king Udena. After the death of the queen, she was very much grieved and became a bhikkhunī. Her grief was so very bitter that she was unable to attain ariyamagga. Afterwards listening

to the instruction of Thera Ānanda, she became free from sorrow by developing insight, and became an arahat. (Therīgāthā commentary, P. T. S., p. 44).

There is another Sāmā therī mentioned in the Therīgāthā commentary, which tells us that at the time of the Buddha, she was born in a householder's family at Kosambī. She was also a companion of Queen Sāmāvatī. After the death of the queen, she became overwhelmed with grief and could not attain ariyamagga though she exerted for twenty five years. Afterwards being instructed by the Buddha, she developed insight and became arahat with paṭisambhidā (analytical knowledge). (Therīgāthā commentary, P.T.S., p. 45). After the passing away of the Master and when the First Great Council was over, Mahākaccāyana lived near Kosambī in a forest-hermitage with twelve bhikkhus. At this time an officer of King Udena, who was in charge of construction of buildings, died. After his death, his son named Uttara was offered the same post which he accepted. Once Uttara desired to repair the city and went to a forest with carpenters to cut down trees for timber. There he saw Mahākaccāyana and being pleased with him, approached him to listen to his teachings. He took shelter in three refuges and invited Mahākaccāyana with the bhikkhus to his house. He made offerings to the thera and the bhikkhus and requested them to take food every day at his house. He also induced his relatives to follow him in this act and built a vihāra. But his mother who was stingy and a believer in false doctrines, cursed him by saying, "Let all these offerings which you are making to the ascetics against my wish, be turned into

blood in the next world.” She, however, approved the act of offering a fan of peacock-feathers on the day of a great ceremony at the vihāra. After death, the mother became a *petī*. In consequence of her approval of the fan of peacock-feathers, in the *petī*-life her hair was blue, smooth, fine and long, and in consequence of her misdeeds, whenever she went down to drink the water of the Ganges, it was at once turned into blood. She suffered for 55 years and finding at last a *thera* named Kaṅkhā Revata seated on the bank of the Ganges at day time, she prayed to him for some drink and explained to him her past misdeeds and present wretched plight. Moved by pity, the *Thera* Revata offered drink to the *Bhikkhu Saṃgha*, fed them and gave them clothes for salvation of the *petī* and she was soon relieved of her distress. (*Paramatthadīpanī* on the *Petavatthu*, pp. 140-144, cf. also my work, *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, pp. 68-69).

When the *Vajjian* monks carried out against *Yasa* the act of excommunication, *Yasa* rose up into the sky and descended at *Kauśāmbī* (Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 104). But the *Mahāvamsa* tells us that the venerable *Yasa* is said to have fled from *Vaiśālī* to *Kosambī* just before the assembly of the second Buddhist Council (*Turnour's Mahāvamsa*, p. 16). The venerable *Yasa*, the son of *Kākaṇḍaka*, came to *Kosambī* and there he convened a meeting of the *bhikkhus* and delivered a discourse on the *Dhamma*, *Vinaya*, etc., (*Vinaya Texts*, pt. III, p. 394).

Kosambī (*Kauśāmbī*) is said to have been founded by *Kuśāmba*, son of *Kaurava Uparicaravaśu*¹. It is stated in

¹ *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 4th *Arṇśa*, Ch. 19.

the Rāmāyaṇa that Brahmā's son Kuśa had four sons by his wife Vidarbhī, one of whom, Kuśāmba built the city of Kauśāmbī according to the instruction of his father.¹ Aśvaghoṣa in his Saundaranandakāvya refers to the hermitage (āśrama) of Kuśāmba,² where the city of Kauśāmbī was built. Its history may be traced back to the time when the Pūrus (Kurus) removed thither after their capital Hastināpura had been destroyed by an inundation of the Ganges.³ We are told that it was a famous city in Mid-India, on the river Jumna which became the Pāṇḍu capital after Hastināpura had been swept away by the Ganges and which was noted as the shrine of the most sacred of all the statues of the Buddha.⁴ Its fame began only with the reign of Cakra, the eighth in descent from Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava.⁵ It is stated in the Purāṇas that the three sons of Adhisāmakṛṣṇa named Nirvakta, Nemicakra, and Vivakṣu lived in Kauśāmbī after the destruction of Hastināpura by an inundation of the Ganges.⁶

We learn from the Jātaka⁷ that Kosambī in the kingdom of Vatsa was ruled over by a king named Kosambika. Once a robber committed robbery and being chased, left the bundle near the door of an ascetic named Maṇḍavya and escaped. When the owner of the property came there, he

¹ Ādikāṇḍa, 32nd Svarga, 6-7.

² Saundarananda-Kāvya, (My translation. p. 9).

³ Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 526.

⁴ Ancient India as described by Ptolemy-McCrindle. p. 72.

⁵ Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p. 391.

⁶ Matsyapurāṇa, Ch. 50, cf. Vāyupurāṇa and Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

⁷ Jātaka, (Cowell), Vol. IV. pp. 17-19.

took the ascetic to be the robber and brought him before the king. The king without enquiry said, "Off with him, impale him upon a stake." The stake of acacia wood did not pierce the ascetic's body, so a nimble stake was brought but this too did not pierce him. When the king found him innocent, he ordered the stake to be drawn out. But despite all efforts the stake did not come out. Then at Maṇḍavya's suggestion, the stake was cut off with the skin. Thenceforward he was called Maṇḍavya with the Peg. The king saluted the ascetic and asked his pardon and settled him in his park. The above account illustrates the use of stakes for the punishment of criminals. Capital punishment not by hanging but by lifting a criminal on a stake, was inflicted by the king on a culprit for a light offence.

In the Skandapurāṇa (Ch. 5. Brahmakhaṇḍa) we read that King Śatānīka ruled over Kosambī. He belonged to the family of Arjuna. He was powerful and intelligent, and was loved by his subjects. He was killed in a war between the devas and asuras. On his death Saḥasrāṇīka ascended the throne of Kauśāmbī. He married Mṛgāvatī, granddaughter of Kṛtavarmā, king of Ayodhyā. This Mṛgāvatī, it is said, was thrown from the sky by a bird while she was pregnant. The great sage Jamadagni took her and brought her up in his hermitage, and she had a son named Udayana who married a nāga girl and, as a result of the union, he obtained Tumbulimāla and the Vīṇā Ghosavatī. A son was born to them. King Saḥasrāṇīka after seeing a bangle with his own name inscribed on it, given to a hunter by Udayana, came to the hermitage of Jamadagni in course of his quest. He was much delighted to see his wife, son

and grandson and afterwards came back to his realm with them. He after seeing his son, Udayana, ascend the throne of Kauśāmbī, went to the celestial abode in consequence of his having taken a bath in Cakratīrtha. (cf. Svapnavāsavadattā by Bhāṣa).

Buddhaghosa in his Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (Vol. I. pt. II.) also records a legend which has some points of agreement with the above Pauranic story. Thus he narrates that there lived at Kosambī a king named Parantapa. One day he sat under the sun with his pregnant wife who was covered with a red blanket. At that time a bird named Hatthiliṅga taking her to be a lump of flesh, came to her and took her away with its claws. These birds had the strength of five elephants. The queen thought that before it would eat her, she would cry out and it would leave her. It was in the habit of looking back on the track. The queen cried and the bird left her. At that time rain poured heavily and continued throughout the night. Early in the morning when the sun rose, a son was born to her. A hermit came to the spot where the son was born and saw the queen on the Nigrodha tree which was not far from his hermitage. When the queen introduced herself as a Kṣatriyāṇī, the hermit brought down the baby from the tree. The queen came to the hermitage of the sage who accompanied her with her infant son. The queen succeeded in tempting him to take her as his spouse and they lived as husband and wife. One day the hermit looked at the stars and saw the star of Parantapa disfigured. He informed her of the death of Parantapa of Kosambī. The queen cried and told him, "He is my husband, I am his queen. If my son had lived there, he would

have become the king." The hermit assured her that he would help her son to win the kingdom. Her son eventually became king and was known as Udayana. The new king married Sāmāvatī, a daughter of the treasurer of Kosambī. Buddhaghosa also records the account of the elopement of Vāsavadattā with Udayana, as we find it in the Svapnavāsavadattā by Bhāṣa. Udayana had another wife named Māgandiyā, the daughter of a Brahmin in the kingdom of the Kurus. (Udena Vatthu, p. 161 foll).

The story of Udayana of Kosambī, occurs in the Meghadūta and in the Kathā-sarit-sāgara of Somadeva. Kosambī, the capital of Vatsarājā, is the scene of the beautiful drama, the Ratnāvalī, composed in the reign of King Harshadeva. In the Lalitavistara, Udayana Vatsa, son of Śātānika, king of Kauśāmbī, is said to have been born on the same day as the Buddha (Faucaux, Tr of the Tibetan version of the Lalitavistara). Udayana Vatsa is also known to the Tibetans as the king of Kauśāmbī. In the Ratnāvalī he is called Vatsarājā or king of the Vatsas, and his capital, Vatsapattana, which is another name for Kauśāmbī, his queen, Vāsavadattā, and his minister, Yaugandharāyaṇa, Udayana married Sāgarikā, daughter of a king of Ceylon, who, being ship-wrecked, was brought to the palace of the Vatsarājā and was kept concealed by the Queen Vāsavadattā knowing fully well the king's intention to love and marry her. In the Svapnavāsavadattā and Pratiṇṇā Yaugandharāyaṇa, we read that Vatsarājā Udayana had two wives named Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī.

Buddhist tradition has preserved a long story of the adventures of Udena and three of his wives. We have it in

two recensions, a Pāli one, the Udenavatthu, and a Sanskrit one, the Mākandika-avadāna. It is quite a good story but how far each episode may be founded on fact is another question. (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 187).

It is stated in the Svapna-Vāsavadattā that Āruṇi, an upstart, ousted Udayana and usurped the throne of Vatsa. (Translation by Dr. Sukthankar, p. 64). Vatsa was finally absorbed into the Magadhan empire. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says that Śiśunāga made himself master not only of Magadha but also of Avanti and Kāśī-Kośala. This seems to be correct; and to this we may add that he probably annexed the Vatsa kingdom to his empire. (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 81). The Magadhan empire gradually extended and swallowed not only the Kāśī-Kośala country of the Ikṣvākus but also the Avanti territory of the Pradyotas and the Kauśāmbī kingdom of the Vatsas (Carmichael Lectures, 1918 p. 84). We may infer from the inscriptions at Pabhosā that in the second century B. C., Vatsa (Kauśāmbī) and Pañcāla (Ahicchatra) were governed by branches of the same royal family and that both kingdoms acknowledged the suzerainty of the Śuṅgas (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I., pp. 525-526). Dhanabhūti, a Śuṅga feudatory, is called Vācchiputa, son of a princess of Vatsa (Kauśāmbī) (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 523). This shows that the family of Dhanabhūti and the Vatsas were inter-related through matrimony.

The Bhagga state was a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom; for we learn from the preface to the Dhonaśākha Jātaka, No. 353, that prince Bodhi, the son of Udayana, king of the

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Vatsas, dwelt on the Sumsumāragiri and built a palace called Kokanada. The Mahābhārata and the Harivaṁśa also testify to the close connection between the Vatsas and the Bhargas (Bhaggas) (H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, Political History, p. 98).

CHAPTER VII

THE AVANTIS

The Avantis as a ruling Kṣatriya tribe of ancient India do not emerge into importance in the Vedic times. Their name is not found in the Vedic literature ; but in the Great Epic, they are found to be one of the most powerful of the Kṣatriya clans. Their dual monarchs, Vinda and Anuvinda, each led an *akṣauhini* of troops to Duryodhana's army and thus the Avantis made up one-fifth of the entire Kuru host (V. 19.24)¹. The two monarchs are also designated as mahārathas, the highest title given to an epic warrior (VIII. 5. 99).² In the gradation of the great warriors assembled in the field of Kurukṣetra, Bhīṣma thus expresses his opinion about the fighting quality of the two Avanti princes :—"In my opinion, Vinda and Anuvinda, the princes of Avanti, accomplished in battle and of firm strength and prowess, are two of the best rathas or chariot-warriors. The two, the best among men, will destroy the army of the enemy with maces, bearded darts, swords and long spears hurled from their hands. Desirous of war they will work havoc in battle like Yama, the god of death himself and like two elephants sporting in the midst of a herd." (V. 166, 5753, Cal. Ed.) The two Avanti sovereigns are many times in the course of the description of the great war, spoken of as

¹ *Āvantyaū ca mahipālau mahāvalasusamvṛtau Prthagakṣauhinībhyāṁ tāvabhiyātau Suyodhanam, Mahābhārata, V. 19. 24.*

² *Vindānuvindāvāvantyaū Rājaputrau Mahārathau, Ibid., VIII. 5. 99.*

mahārathas. Thus in the Bhīṣma parva, they are spoken of as the two mahārathas of Avanti—Āvantyau ca Mahārathau (VI. 99. 4504 and VI. 114, 5293, 5309). In other passages of the same parva, they are spoken of as wielding powerful bows—Āvantyau tu Maheśvāsau (VI. 83. 3650, VI. 94, 4195). The Avanti sovereigns are spoken of side by side with Jayadratha very often in the course of the account of the great war (V. 55. 2206 ; V. 62. 2426 ; VI. 16. 6022 ; IX. 2. 72). The two Avanti princes figure very prominently in the course of the whole war and many are the glorious and heroic deeds that they are credited with. They rendered great and useful service to the Kaurava cause both by their individual prowess and generalship as well as by the numerous army consisting of forces of all description that they led to battle. Thus the two princes Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti supported Bhīṣma with great valour in the initial stages of the war (VI. 16. 622 ; II. 17. 673 etc.). They were directed to lead an attack against the mighty Arjuna himself (VI. 59. 2584). The two sovereigns of Avanti fought bravely the mighty Irāvata begotten by Arjuna on the daughter of the king of the Nāgas (VI. 81. 3557 ; VI. 83. 3650-3660). They attacked Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna the generalissimo of the Pāṇḍavas (VI. 86. 3823). With their troops they surrounded Arjuna (VI. 102. 4666) and fought Bhīmasena (VI. 113. 5240). After Droṇa had taken the command of the Kaurava army, we find Vinda and Anuvinda, the two Avanti sovereigns, fighting the best of the warriors on the Pāṇḍava side like Cekitāna, Virāṭa etc. (VII. 14. 542 ; 25. 1083 ; 32. 1410). Thus they fought bravely in the field until they laid down their lives at the hands of Arjuna according to one account (VII. 99.

3691) or at the hands of Bhīma according to another (XI. 22. 617). We hear of the mighty hosts of the Avantis—Sainyam Āvantyānām—in the Kārṇaparva and elsewhere (VII. 113. 4408 ; VIII. 8. 235).

The Matsyapurāṇa (Ch. 43) traces the origin of the Avantis to the Haihaya dynasty of which

Avanti in the Purāṇas. Kārttavīryārjuna was the most glorious ruler, and adds that Avanti was the name borne by one of the sons of this powerful monarch. The Līṅga Purāṇa (Ch. 68) also states that out of the hundred sons of Kārttavīryārjuna, five, namely Śūra, Śūrasena, Dṛṣṭa, Kṛṣṇa and Yayudhvaja, ruled Avanti and acquired great renown. The Viṣṇu-Dharmottara Mahāpurāṇa (Chap. IX) and the Padmapurāṇa (Swarga Khaṇḍa, Chap. III.) speak of Avanti as one of the mahājanapadas or chief provinces of ancient India. The Skandapurāṇa has a whole section, the Āvantya khaṇḍa, dealing with the sacred sites and places of pilgrimage in the country of the Avantis. It states (chap. 43) that the great god, Mahādeva, after he had established his great renown in the world by destroying the great demon called Tripura, visited Avantipura, the capital city of the Avantis, which, in honour of the great victory obtained by the god, came to be known as Ujjayinī. This Purāṇa in the section on Ayodhyā mātātmya (chap. I) relates that saints of Ujjayinī, the Avanti capital, came to Kurukṣetra with their disciples to attend the sacrifice of Rāma. The Purāṇas also speak of the marital relations between the royal family of the Avantis and the ruling dynasty of the Yadus. Thus the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (IV. 12) and Agni Purāṇa (Ch. 275) state that a Yadu princess

called Rājyādhīdevī, was married to the king of Avanti. She was one of the five sisters of the Yadu monarch, Vasudeva, the son of Sūra, who came of the dynasty of Bhajamāna, the son of Andhaka. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa adds (IV. 14) that Rājyādhīdevī bore two sons, the Āvantyas, Vinda and Upavinda. These two children borne by the Yadu princess to the Avanti king, are most probably to be indentified with the heroic Avanti princes Vinda and Anuvinda whose mighty deeds on the field of Kurukṣetra are recounted in the Mahābhārata.

The grammarian Pāṇini refers to Avanti in one of his sūtras—‘Striyām-Avanti-Kuntī-Kuru-
 Avanti in Pāṇini's Sūtras. bhyāścha’ (IV. 1. 176)—that is, in denoting a feminine name, the affix signifying the king thereof is elided after the words, Avanti, Kuntī and Kuru. Thus Avantī, according to Pāṇini, signified a daughter of the king of Avanti.

In the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata, the sage
 Location. Dhaumya in enumerating the places of pilgrimage in western India, refers to the country of the Avantis—Avantisu Pratīchyām vai (III. 89. 8354)—and he speaks of the sacred Narmadā, as being situated therein. At the beginning of the Virāṭaparva, Arjuna in describing the countries mentions Avanti along with other kingdoms in Western India namely Surāṣṭra and Kuntī—Kuntirāṣṭram suvistīrṇam Surāṣṭrāvantaya-stathā (IV. 1. 12). The geographical connection between the Avantis and the Kuntis is also shown in the description of Bhāratavarṣa in the Bhīṣmaparva—Kuntayo’vantayaścha (VI. 9. 350). A path leading to the city of

Avanti is also referred to in Nalopākhyāna of the Vanaparva (III. 61. 2317). Mrs. Rhys Davids notes that Avanti lay north of the Vindhya mountains, north-west of Bombay. It was one of the four chief monarchies in India when Buddhism arose, and was later absorbed into the Moriyān Empire. (Psalms of the Brethren, p. 107. note i)

Professor Rhys Davids observes, "The country (Avanti), much of which is rich land, had been colonised or conquered by Aryan tribes who came down the Indus valley and turned west from the Gulf of Kutch. It was called Avanti at least as late as the second century A. D. (See Rudradāman's Inscription at Junāgaḍ) but from the seventh or eighth century onwards, it was called Mālava (Buddhist India, p. 28).

Ujjayinī on the Siprā, a tributary of the Carmanvatī
 Ujjain, the capital city—Location. (Chambal), is the modern Ujjain in Gwalior, Central India. It was the capital of Avanti or W. Mālava and the residence of the viceroy of the western provinces both under the Maurya and Gupta empires (Rapson's Ancient India, p. 175).

In the Dīpavaṃsa we read that Ujjenī was built by Accutagāmī, (Dīpavaṃsa, Oldenberg, p. 57. Text). Watters points out about the Avanti capital, Ujjayana mentioned by Yuan Chwang, that it is generally supposed to be the well-known Ujjain or Ujjen. In some of the canonical scriptures, Ujjain is to the west of Kanoj which lies between Ujjain and Benares (On Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, pp. 250-251).

The Chinese pilgrim thus describes Ujjayinī, which
 Description. name he gives to the whole country surrounding the capital :—"Ujjainī is about 6000 li in circuit; the capital is some 30 li round. The

produce and manners of the people are like those of the country of Surāṣṭra. The population is dense and the establishments wealthy. There are several tens of convents, but they are mostly in ruins ; some three or five are preserved. There are some 300 priests ; they study the doctrines both of the Great and the Little Vehicle. There are several tens of deva temples, occupied by sectaries of various kinds. The king belongs to the Brāhman caste. He is well-versed in heretical books, and believes not in the true law. Not far from the city is a stūpa ; this is the place where Aśoka-rāja made the hell (of punishment).” (Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 270).

Owing to its position Avanti became a great commercial centre. Here met the three routes, from the western coast with its sea-ports, Śurpāraka (Sopāra) and Bhṛigukaccha (Broach), from the Deccan and from Śrāvastī in Kośala (Oudh). It was also a great centre of science and literature. The Hindu astronomers reckoned their first meridian of longitude from Ujjayinī, and the dramas of Kālidāsa were performed on the occasion of the Spring Festival before its viceregal court, c. 400 A. D. (Rapson’s Ancient India, p. 175).

An interesting notice of Ujjain is to be found in the *Periplus of the Erythraean sea* where we read (sec 48), “Eastward from Barygaza is a city called Ozene, formerly the capital where the king resided. From this place is brought down to Barygaza every commodity for local consumption or export to other parts of India, onyx-stones, porcelain, fine muslins, mallow-tinted cottons and the ordinary kinds in great quantities. It imports from the upper country

through Proklais for transport to the coast, spikenard, kostos and bdellium." From this we see that about a century and a half after Vikramāditya's era, Ujjain was still a flourishing city, though it had lost something of its former importance and dignity from being no longer the residence of the sovereign. The ancient city no longer exists but its ruins can be traced at a distance of a mile from its modern successor. (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 155). It was one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus and the first meridian of their astronomers. (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 154).

Avanti was one of the most flourishing kingdoms in India as it is mentioned as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas of the Jambudvīpa in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* which tells us that the country had abundance of food and the seven gems and the people were wealthy and prosperous (*Āṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. IV, pp. 252, 256, 261). Sir Charles Eliot remarks about the Pāli language in which the canonical works of the Hīnayāna school have been preserved to the present day that "being a literary rather than a popular language, Pāli was probably a mixed form of speech and it has been conjectured that it was elaborated in Avanti or in Gāndhāra." (Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. I, p. 282).

Avanti became from the first an important centre of the new doctrine we now call Buddhism (in India it was not so called till centuries later.). Several of the most earnest and jealous adherents of the Dhamma were either born or resided there. Abhaya Kumāra is mentioned (*Theragāthā*

Commy, 39), so also Isidāsī (Therīgāthā Commy, 261-4), Isidatta (Theragāthā 120), Dhammapāla (Theragāthā, 204), Soṇa Kuṭikaṇṇa (Vinaya Texts, II. 32 ; Theragāthā 369 ; Udāna V. 6) and specially Mahā-Kaccāna (Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. III. p. 9 ; IV. 117 ; Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 23 ; V. 46 ; Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. III, 194, 223). [Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 186].

Kaccāyana the Great was born at Ujjenī in the family of the chaplain of King Caṇḍapajjota. He learned the three Vedas and on his father's death, succeeded him to the chaplainship of the king. One day the king heard of the advent of the Buddha and asked him to bring the Master there. He went to the Master with a party of seven. The Master taught him the Norm with such effect that at the end of the lesson, he with his seven attendants, was established in arahantship with thorough grasp of letter and meaning. Thus accomplished he invited the Master on behalf of the king, saying, "Lord, the King Pajjota desires to worship at your feet and hear the Norm." The Master told them to satisfy the king by their mission. Thus bidden they came back to the king, satisfied his desire and established him in the faith. (Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 238-239). This shows that the Great Kaccāyana was himself a native of Avanti, and after he was firmly established in the doctrine, he worked with zeal for the diffusion of the new faith amongst his countrymen. The great success of the missionary activity of Kaccāyana in his native province is also partially explained by the fact of his initial success in converting the ruler of the country, Caṇḍa Pajjota.

The *Āṅguttara Nikāya* says about Mahā Kaccāyana, one of the most highly revered of the immediate disciples of the Buddha, that while he was dwelling at Avanti, an upāsikā named Kālī went to him and asked him to explain in detail the meaning of a stanza mainly dealing with kasīnas and he did so to her entire satisfaction. (*Āṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. V, pp. 46-47). Other important episodes that took place during the sojourn of the great holy therā in Avanti are also related in the Pāli scriptures. We read in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* that when Mahā Kaccāyana was dwelling in the kingdom of Avanti, a householder named Hāḷiddikāni went to him and requested him to explain in detail a stanza dealing with the question of rūpadhātu, vedanādhātu, saññādhātu, saṃkhāra and viññānadhātus and he fully explained these dhātus to this lay enquirer. (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, Vol. III, p. 9 foll). Again we read in the same *Nikāya* that when Mahā Kaccāyana was dwelling in the kingdom of Avanti, the same devout and inquisitive householder again approached him for the elucidation of knotty points of the Buddhist doctrine as to how on account of different kinds of dhātu, arise different kinds of phassa, and on account of different kinds of phassa, arise different kinds of vedanā and the sage made all these matters clear to him. (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, Vol. IV, pp. 115-116).

The *Dhammapada* commentary gives us further details regarding the life of the Thera Mahā Kaccāyana. We are told that when he was dwelling at Avanti, the Buddha was residing at the palace of the renowned upāsikā of Sāvattthī, Visākhā Migāramāta; nevertheless, though separated by such a long distance from the Master, yet whenever any

sermon was delivered by the latter on Dhamma, Mahā Kaccāyana used to be present. Therefore the bhikkhus used to keep a seat for him. (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. II, pp. 176-177). We read also in the same commentary that when Mahā Kaccāyana was living at the city of Kuraraghara in Avanti, an upāsaka named Soṇo Kūṭikaṇṇo was pleased with him after listening to his religious sermon. The upāsaka requested him to give him ordination which was given to him. (Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 101, cf. also the Vinaya Texts, S. B. E. pt. II, p. 32 foll). When the first Great Council of the disciples of the Buddha was held after his parinibbāṇa, to compile the teachings of the Master, Yasa sent messengers to the bhikkhus of Avanti inviting them to come and settle what is Dhamma, Vinaya, and what is not, and to help the spread of Dhamma and Vinaya. (Vinaya Texts, pt. III, p. 394; cf. Geiger, Mahāvamsa, tr. p. 21). This evidently shows that the followers of the new faith in the western province of Avanti must have been very numerous and influential at the same time, showing that under the energetic ministration of the Thera Mahā Kaccāyana, the new doctrine of peace and emancipation had spread far and wide over the province.

The Thera Isidatta was one of the converts of Mahā-Kaccāyana. Isidatta was born in the kingdom of Avanti at Veḷugāma as the son of a guide to caravans of which there were many in Avanti because, as we have seen, it lay on the great trade-route between the coastal ports and the inland marts. Isidatta won the friendship of Citta, a house-father at Macchikāsaṇḍa. (Psalms of the Brethern, p. 107).

In the Ambāṭaka forest, gahapati Citta had a discussion with the bhikkhus who were assembled, on sakkāyadiṭṭhi (Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. IV, pp. 285-288).

He wrote to Isidatta on the excellence of the Buddha and sent him a copy of the system. This so moved him that he sought ordination under the therā Kaccāna (Kaccāyana) the Great. In due course he acquired sixfold abhiññā. (Psalms of the Brethren, p. 107).

Dhammapāla, a Brahmin's son, of the country of Avanti was also one of the early converts to the new faith. When he was returning from Takkasīlā, the great university, on the north-western frontiers, after finishing his education, he saw on his way, a certain therā in a single cell and hearing from him the Norm, he believed, left the world and acquired sixfold abhiññā. (Psalms of the Brethren, p. 149). Soṇa-Kuṭikanṇa was reborn in Avanti in the family of a very wealthy councillor. His family was very wealthy, so much so, that this young scion of an Avanti noble family, used to wear ear-jewellery worth a crore, so he was called Koṭi or Kuṭi-kaṇṇa (Crore-ears). When he grew old, he became a landowner. Being disturbed by worldly affairs, he entered the order through the ministration of the venerable Kaccāna the Great, who lived near his house. He went to Sāvattthī and passed the night in the Master's abode. The following morning he was invited to recite and was highly praised for the sixteen aṭṭhakas. He then developed insight and won arahatship. (Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 202-203).

In the time of the previous Buddhas, a therī named Abhayamātā performed meritorious deeds and at the time of Tissa Buddha, she offered a spoonful of rice to the Buddha

with great delight. In consequence of this meritorious deed, she enjoyed happiness in devaloka for a long time and at last was reborn in Ujjenī as a courtesan named Padumavatī. King Bimbisāra of Magadha went to her and spent one night with her. Through the king of Magadha, a son was born to her, who was named Abhaya. This boy was sent to the king when he was seven years old. (Therīgāthā Commentary, p. 39). At Ujjenī there was a therī named Isidāsī. She was a daughter of a seṭṭhi of Ujjenī. Her parents married her to a seṭṭhi's son. She stayed with her husband for a month and then she was driven away by her husband. Being disgusted with worldly life, the seṭṭhi's daughter became a bhikkhunī under a therī named Jinadattā. She afterwards became a therī and acquired saintship. (Therīgāthā Commentary, pp. 260-261).

A gandhabba of Ujjenī named Mūsila went to another gandhabba, Guttila, at Benares to learn music but the Benares musician refused to teach Mūsila of Ujjain, knowing after examining the marks of his body that he would be very rough and ungrateful. Mūsila began to serve Guttila's parents who being pleased with Mūsila, requested their son to teach him music. Guttila being thus asked by his parents, taught him the art and Mūsila mastered it very soon as he was very diligent and intelligent. He attempted to become more famous than his teacher at Benares. He showed his mastery over the art of music to the king of Benares. The king asked Mūsila to accept service under him on half the salary his teacher was receiving but he refused saying that he was in no way inferior to his teacher so far as the art of music was concerned. He challenged his teacher

with the result that he was at last defeated and driven out by the king. (*Vimānavatthu Commentary*, p. 137 foll).

The great propounder of the Jaina faith, Mahāvīra, is also said to have performed some of his penances in the country of Avanti. Ujjayinī (Ujjain) was visited by Mahāvīra who did penance in a cemetery there when Rudra and his wife in vain tried to interrupt him ; it was only after overcoming this temptation and again entering on his forest-life of meditation that according to the Digāmbara belief, he obtained *manahparyāya jñāna* (S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 33).

It was here that the temple of Mahākāla was built which is now one of the twelve most famous Śaivism-the *Līṅgāyats*. Śaiva temples in India. (*Ibid*, p. 75). One of the sacred places of the *Līṅgāyat* sect is situated in Avanti, at Ujjenī. The *Līṅgāyat* itinerent ascetics wander over India frequenting especially the five *śimhāsanas* or *Līṅgāyat* seats (Kadur, Ujjenī, Benares, Śrīsailam and Kedārnath in the Himalayas) [*Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 227].

We have already referred to King Caṇḍa Pajjota or Pradyota who was a contemporary of the Buddha and under whom the new faith became the state religion of Avanti. The Pradyotas were kings of Avanti (W. Mālwā) and their capital was Ujjain. Caṇḍa Pajjota himself, like Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, the fifth and sixth in the list of the Śisunāgas, and like the Pūru Udayana (Udena) of Vatsa, (Vamśa) and the Ikshvāku Prasenajit of Kośala, was contemporary with the Buddha (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. pp. 310-311). There is

Political history.

a reference to King Caṇḍa Pajjota in the Chinese Buddhist legends collected by Beal. When discussing the suitable place for the advent of the Bodhisattva, the Golden Mass said, "In the Māvanti country, the city called Ujjayani, the king called bright lamp (Pradyota), his son called Purṇa, the king's personal strength was very great." Prabhāpāla replied, "All this may be so, but the king of that country is governed or restrained by no fixed law and believes not in the certain result of actions, good or bad, in a future state." (The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha by S. Beal, p. 29). In Buddha's time, the king of Madhurā was styled Avantiputta, showing that on his mother's side, he was connected with the royal family of Ujjain. (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 53).

Ujjayinī also played an important part in the political history of India. Under the Pradyotas, it had been raised to a very high position and its power and prowess were feared even by the great emperors of Magadha. Ajātasattu fortified his capital Rājagaha in expectation of an attack about to be made by King Pajjota of Ujjeni.

The commentary on verses 21-23 of the Dhammapada, gives a romantic story of the manner in which a matrimonial alliance was established between the royal families of Kauśāmbī and Avanti. One day King Pajjota asked his courtiers whether there was any king more glorious than himself. The courtiers told the king that King Udena of Kosambī surpassed him. King Pajjota got angry and determined to attack him. He got an elephant made of wood and concealed in it sixty warriors. Knowing that King Udena had a great liking for fine elephants, he had informed Udena by

spies that a matchless and glorious elephant was to be found in the frontier forest. Udena came to the forest and, in the pursuit of the prize, became separated from his retinue and was taken prisoner. While a captive, he fell in love with Vāsuladattā, daughter of King Pajjota. One day when King Pajjota was away on a pleasure jaunt, Udena put Vāsuladattā on an elephant and taking also money and gold-dust in bags of leather, he set forth. On his return King Pajjota was informed of the elopement of his daughter. He then sent a force in rapid pursuit. Udena emptied the bag of coins. The pursuers were engaged in gathering them up. When the pursuers again gained on them, Udena emptied the bags full of gold-dust. The pursuers were delayed again. King Udena reached his own territory in safety and was received by his own troops. The pursuers went back. Udena and Vāsuladattā entered the city in triumph and with due grandeur and fitting ceremonies, Vāsuladattā was anointed his queen. (Buddhist India, pp. 4-7). The same story is related in another form by Bhāṣa in his drama of Svapna-Vāsavadattā.

In the fourth century B. C., Ujjenī had become subject to Magadha. Aśoka, grandson of Chandragupta, was stationed at Ujjain as viceroy of the Avanti country. (Smith, Aśoka, p. 235). Aśoka's son, Mahinda, was born when his father was a viceroy under his father Bindusāra in Ujjenī or Ujjain in Avanti (Copleston, Buddhism, p. 181). Aśoka's grandson, Samprati, ruled in Ujjain and figured in Jaina legends. Suhastin was one of the leading members of the Jaina community under Mahāgiri. In a previous birth Samprati was a beggar and had seen Suhastin's disciples

carrying sweets. This is the Svētāmbara version (Sinclair Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 74). Vikramāditya, the celebrated king of Ujjain, expelled the Scythians and thereafter established his power over the greater part of India. He restored the Hindu monarchy to its ancient splendour. (McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 154-155).

In later times some of the ruling families of Avanti made mark in Indian history as we shall point out from the late Dr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*. Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty dethroned Indrāyudha and installed in his stead Cakrāyudha with the assent of the neighbouring northern powers *e.g.*, the Avantis, the Bhojas, the Yavanas (Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 398).

The Paramāra dynasty of Malwa, anciently known as Avanti, is specially memorable by reason of its association with many eminent names in the history of later Sanskrit literature. The dynasty was founded by a chief named Upendra or Krishnarāja, early in the ninth century. Upendra appears to have come from Candrāvati and Achalgarh near Mount Abu where his clan had been settled for a long time. The seventh rājā named Munja who was famous for his learning and eloquence, was not only a patron of poets but himself a poet of no small reputation. Munja's nephew, the famous Bhoja, ascended the throne of Dhārā which was in those days the capital of Mālwa about 1018 A.D., and reigned gloriously for more than 40 years (*Early History of India*, p. 395). About A.D. 1060 this accomplished prince succumbed to an attack by the confederate kings of Gujarat and Chedi and the glory of his house departed. His dynasty lasted as a purely local power until the beginning

of the 13th century when it was superseded by chiefs of the Tomara clan, who were followed in their turn by Chauhan rājās from whom the crown passed to Muhammadan kings in 1401. (*Ibid.*, p. 396).

In the coins of Erān, capital of the ancient East Malwa kingdom in the Saugor district, Central Provinces, we have an illustration, as Rapson says, "of the development of the punch-marked system into the die system." These coins are rectangular copper pieces, and the device on each consists of a collection of symbols like those which appear on the "punch-marked" coins, but struck from a single die. They are specially interesting in that they represent the highest point of perfection reached by purely Indian money. Some of these in common with a class of round coins found at Ujjain (Avanti) display a special symbol, the "cross and balls," known from its almost universal occurrence on the coins of ancient Mālwa as the Ujjain symbol. (Brown, *Coins of India*, p. 20). Square copper Moghul coins were struck at Ujjain up to the time of Shah Jahan I. (*Ibid.*, p. 87).

There is generally one distinguishing mark of the coins current in Ujjain ; but on some of the rare coins the word 'Ujeniya' is incused in Brāhmī character of the second century B.C. Generally on one side is a man with a symbol of the Sun and on the other is seen the sign of Ujjain. On some coins, is seen on one side, a bull within a fence, or Bodhi-tree or Sumeru hill or the figure of the Goddess of Fortune. Some coins of Ujjain are quadrangular while others are round. (R. D. Banerjee, *Prācīna Mudrā*, p. 108).

CHAPTER VIII

THE UŚĪNARAS

The Uśīnaras were a Kṣatriya tribe of the Madhyadeśa (Mid-India). They were a petty tribe to the north of the Kuru country. (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 84). In the Vinaya Piṭaka, their hill is mentioned in connection with the specification of the boundary of the middle country by the Buddha. "To the east was the town, Kajaṅgala and beyond it Mahāsālā. To the south-east was the river Salalavatī, to the south was the town, Setakaṇṇika, to the west was the brahmin village called Thūna and to the north was the mountain called Uśīradhaja." (Vinaya Texts, pt. II, S.B.E., Vol. XVII, pp. 38-39).

The Uśīnaras in
Vedic and Sūtra
literature.

The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 9) tells us that the Uśīnaras and Vaśas were regarded as northerners. In the R̥gveda (X. 59, 10), the tribe is alluded to in a passage which refers to their queen Uśīnarāṇī. Pāṇinī also refers to the Uśīnara country in the Sūtras (II. 4. 20 and IV. 2. 118). The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa contains a geographical passage (VIII. 14) which assigns to the middle country, the later Madhyadeśa, the Kurus and Pañcālas with the Vaśas and Uśīnaras. In the Kauśītaki upaniṣad (IV. I), too, the Uśīnaras are associated with the Kuru-Pañcālas and the Vaśas. Zimmer thinks that the Uśīnaras earlier lived farther to the north-west. This theory is based on the fact that the Anukramaṇī of

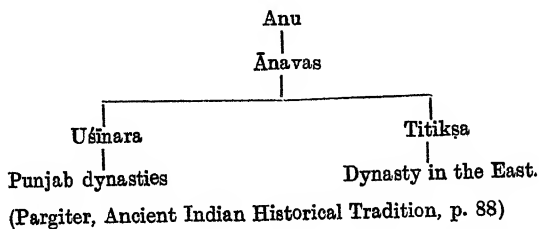
the R̥gveda ascribes one hymn (X. 179) to Sivi Auśīnara and that the Śivis were known to Alexander's followers as the Siboi living between the Indus and Akesines (Chenab). The authors of the Vedic Index do not accept this view of Zimmer and observe that "this is in no way conclusive, as the Śivis, at any rate in Epic times, occupied the land to the north of Kurukṣetra and there is no reason whatever to show that in the Vedic period, the Uśīnaras were farther west than the middle country." (Vol. I., p. 103). Mr. Pargiter, however, holds that Uśīnara and his descendants occupied the Punjab (Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 109). He further tells us that Uśīnara established separate kingdoms on the eastern border of the Punjab, viz., those of the Yaudheyas, Ambaṣṭhas, etc., and his famous son, Sivi Auśīnara originated the Śivis in Śivapura and extending his conquests westwards, founded through his four sons, the kingdoms of the Vṛṣadarbhas, Madras, Kekayas and Suvīras, thus occupying the whole of the Punjab except the north-west corner. (Ibid, p. 264).

In the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata (Chap. 130, 21), we read that there were marshes, etc., on both sides of the Jamuna, where Uśīnara surpassed Indra in performing a yajña. In the same parva we read that Indra, in order to test Uśīnara, took the guise of a hawk, while Agni took the guise of a pigeon, and came to the shelter of King Uśīnara. The hawk came to the king and prayed for the pigeon. The king refused to hand over the pigeon to him and asked to pray for some other flesh. The hawk prayed for the king's flesh in quantity equal to that of the pigeon. The king consented.

Epic and Pauranic
accounts.

His own flesh not being equal to that of the pigeon, the king himself stood on one side of the scale. Indra then introduced himself to the king. He praised the king and became much pleased with him. He then went to heaven after giving him a boon (Chap. 131). From the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata we learn that Nārada said thus to Sañjaya, “Uśīnara Śivi was dead. He encircled the whole world like a skin” (Chap. 29, 39). Uśīnara became the sole emperor of the world (Ibid, 40). He offered all his cows, horses, etc., to perform his yajña. (Ibid, 41). Prajāpati thought Uśīnara to be the only person among the past and future kings, worthy of carrying his *dhura* (Ibid., 42-43). In the Śrīmadbhāgavata, we read that there was a famous king named Sujajña in the kingdom of Uśīnara. He was killed in battle (chap. II, 28th śloka, 7th skandha, p. 393). Again in the same work we read of queens of Uśīnara, who seeing the condition of their husband, the king of the Uśīnaras, became very much aggrieved and they fell down at his feet after striking their breasts repeatedly with their hands (Ibid, chap. II, 7th skandha, 31 śloka, p. 393).

The following geneology will show that Uśinara was, according to tradition, descended from the Ānavas :—



Uśīnara had five wives, Mrigā, Krimi, Navā, Darvā and Drśhadvatī who had five religious sons, Mrga, Krimi, Nava,

Suvrata and Sivi. The city of Sivi was known as Sivapura. The city of Mriga was Yaudheya, the city of Nava was the kingdom of Nava, the city of Krimi was Krimila and the city of Suvrata was Ambaṣṭha. The Harivaṁśa connects the Yaudheyas with Uśīnara (Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 380 ; H. C. Ray Chaudhury, *Political History of India*, p. 279). The four sons of Sivi were known as Sivis but their names were Vriṣadarbha, Suvīra, Kekaya and Madraka who had four cities known as Kekaya, Madraka, Vriṣadarbha and Suvidarbha (*Vāyupurāṇa*, Chap. 99, cf. *Brahmapurāṇa*, Chap. 13, in which mention is made of Kakṣeyu's family instead of Anu's family ; cf. also *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 4th Aṁśa).

The Buddhist Jātakas refer to King Uśīnara more than once. The Nimi Jātaka tells us that King Uśīnara was very charitable but he did not lead a holy life. He could not, therefore, pass from the peta world to be born in Brahmā's heaven. (Cowell, *Jātaka*, Vol. VI. p. 55). The Mahānārada-kassapa Jātaka states that King Uśīnara followed righteousness waiting diligently on the Brahmins and Samaṇas. After death he went to heaven. (Ibid, Vol. VI. p. 125). Again, in another Jātaka, we read that once upon a time, there reigned a king named Uśīnara. His people were wicked and they followed unrighteousness. During his reign, the religion of the Buddha began to disappear. Brethren gained their livelihood in the twenty-one unlawful ways. Brethren, sisters, and laymen, all abandoned their respective duties. Sakka observed the miserable plight of the people due to the decadence of the religion of the Buddha. He turned the god Mātali, his charioteer, into the shape of a huge black hound and entered the city.

The people were terrified by the loud barking of the hound. The king enquired why the hound was barking. Sakka said that it was very hungry. All sorts of food were given to it, even all the food in the city was given to it by order of the king but the hound exhausted everything and did not stop barking. At that the king said that it was not a hound but a goblin. Sakka then spoke out that he had come with the hound to revive the religion of the Buddha and thus to establish the people in the virtues of liberality. Sakka then declared the law and went back to his own place with Mātali. (Ibid, Vol. IV, pp. 112-115).

In the Divyāvadāna (p. 22) mention is made of Uśīragiri. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri is right in pointing out that Uśīnaragiri mentioned in the Kathāśaritsāgara (Edited by Durgāprasād and Kāśīnāth, 3rd edition, p. 5), is doubtless identical with Uśīragiri of the Divyāvadāna and Uśīradhaja of the Vinaya Texts. (S. B. E., pt. II, p. 39). It is to be noted that Uśīnaragiri is placed near Kanakhala. (Political History of India, p. 28).

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ERRATA

Page	4	—	Read	Dauhsanti	instead of	Dauhsanti
"	6	—	"	Yāśka	"	Yāśka
"	8	—	"	Brahmaṛṣis	"	Brahmarṣhis
"	10	—	"	An	"	a
"	11	—	"	bikkhupis	"	bhikkhupis
"	12	—	"	Sāmaṇeris	"	sāmaṇeris
"	16	—	"	Cakkavatti	"	Cakravattī
"	16	—	"	and Uttarakuru	"	Uttarakuru
"	17	—	"	the therī	"	therī
"	17	—	"	the Bodhisatta	"	Bodhisatta
"	19	—	"	Subala	"	Suvala
"	19	—	"	Jahnu	"	Janhu
"	19	—	"	Āyutāyus	"	Āyutāyu
"	19	—	"	Devātithi	"	Devatithi
"	19	—	"	Balhika	"	Valhika
"	20	—	"	Sārvabhauma	"	Sarvabhauma
"	21	—	"	Descendant	"	Descendent
"	22	—	"	Thereafter	"	since then
"	29	—	"	Who is not	"	who is
"	30	—	"	with	"	by
"	30	—	"	,	"	and
"	31	—	"	Upon	"	against
"	32	—	"	Great	"	a great
"	44	—	"	And the baneful	"	baneful
"	48	—	"	And says that	"	and that
"	52	—	"	Bṛhadīṣu	"	Vṛhadviśa
"	52	—	"	Yavinara	"	Yabinara
"	53	—	"	So	"	so that
"	57	—	"	Hiuēn Tsang	"	Yuan Chwang
"	60	—	"	Was	"	were
"	63	—	"	And Kauśāmbī	"	Kauśāmbī
"	71	—	"	the	"	and the
"	71	—	"	the Bharatās	"	Bharatas
"	71	—	"	the Matsyas	"	Matsyas
"	83	—	"	Greek and Chinese	"	Greek
"	84	—	"	Ptolemy also	"	Ptolemy

Page	94 —	Read	Give	Instead of	Gave
„	95 —	„	As	„	So
„	97 —	„	presented to	„	presented
„	113 —	„	have been	„	were
„	116 —	„	was	„	is
„	128 —	„	two paribbājakas	„	paribbājakas
„	132 —	„	in the	„	at
„	133 —	„	6. Vāyupurāṇa (Vaṅgavāsi Ed.) Chap. 99. śl. 70-71 ; Bhāgavata (Do.) Skandha 9. Chap. 21. śl. 39-40 and Matsya, Chap. 50. śl. 78-79 instead of 6. Matsyapurāṇa, Ch. 50. cf. Vāyupurāṇa and Bhāgavatapurāṇa,		
„	140 —	„	descriptions	„	description
„	143 —	„	the Nalopākhyāna	„	Nalopākhyāna
„	146 —	„	him	„	them
„	146 —	„	his	„	their
„	146 —	„	he	„	they
„	151 —	„	itinerant	„	itinerent
„	154 —	„	Made their mark	„	made mark
„	155 —	„	a Bodhi-tree	„	Bodhi-tree

N.B. Please note that Adhisāmakṛṣṇa, Adhisīmakṛṣṇa and Adhisomakṛṣṇa occur respectively in the Vāyu, Bhāgavata and Matsyapurāṇas. Please also note that Kammassadhamma (Majjhima N.) Kammāssadhamma (Dīgha Nikāya) and Kammāssadamma (Therīgāthā Commentary) are used.

“SOME KṢĀTRIYA TRIBES OF ANCIENT INDIA”

By the same author.

*(Thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
Calcutta University).*

OPINIONS

Dr. Sten Konow of Norway :—It is a very useful work you have undertaken to put together all the references available from literature about the Kṣatriya clans. I wish that we had more books of the same kind, not only about tribes and clans but also about geographical designations. The great merit of such books is that they allow you to judge for yourself without simply accepting the opinion of the author. I am very thankful to you for your careful piecing together of such evidence as is available and I look forward to further important contributions from you in elucidation of ancient Indian history.

Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids of England :—Thank you much for the gift of your very readable and clear-written work. You give us many aperçus of what seems to have been a simple folk of a crude stage of civilisation, when we get light upon them. Your book is a more ample and detailed monograph than what I had expected.

Dr. A. Berriedale Keith of Scotland writes in his foreword to the above book :—The most pressing need at the present day is a detailed investigation of carefully chosen aspects of Indian history, and it was a happy thought of Mr. Bimala Charan Law to select for investigation the history of certain Kṣatriya clans of ancient India. Careful collections of facts such as are contained in this work form the only sound basis of further

research and the future historian of India will find his task substantially furthered both by the wide knowledge and by the sound judgment of the author. Many things are obscure in the history of these clans and it is of special value to have the whole of the facts regarding them set out without *parti pris* in a spirit of scientific research.

Dr. F. O. Schrader of Germany :—There is so much interesting material in it and your way of dealing with it is attractive throughout.

Dr. E. W. Hopkins of America :—I was much pleased with your volume on Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, which I have read with much historical profit. Please accept my thanks for the very useful work.

Dr. Jarl Charpentier of Upsala :—Your valuable book on “Kṣatriya Tribes in Ancient India”. I have found it a very valuable contribution to the history of ancient India. The subject has not, to my knowledge, been dealt with properly in any previous work, and I am astonished at the vast and, as far as I can judge, exhaustive collections of materials that you have succeeded in bringing together. I shall certainly recommend the book to those of my students who are concerned with similar topics.

Dr. W. Geiger of Germany :—valuable present.....It was a happy idea, I think, to collect all the notices to be found in Indian sources about the Kṣatriya clans in India in the Buddhist period. For this is of special importance for our knowledge of Indian life during those centuries. You have splendidly enlarged and supplied the materials shortly dealt with by Prof. Rhys Davids in his well-known book on Buddhist India. I see with special interest that you have even utilised for your work the Mahāvamsa Tikā.

Dr. L. D. Barnett of England :—the additions that you have made increase the usefulness of the work.

Sir Charles Eliot, British Ambassador, Japan :—In looking through the Kṣatriya tribes, I found the chapters on the Licchavis and Śakyas particularly interesting and I am confident that the book will prove of real value to students.

Dr. Louis de la Vallee Poussin of Belgium :—... unfortunately your book on Kṣatriyas comes when I am dispatching the last proofs of a *Histoire de l' Inde*, and I can only add in a footnote that I have not been able to draw from it a number of details and observations worthy of notice. But when I shall come to the Guptas, your remarks on the Licchavis will be discussed.

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